

HOW SCHOOL GENERATED FUNDING REINFORCES A TWO-TIER
EDUCATION SYSTEM IN ONTARIO

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines School Generated Funding (SGF) within the Toronto District School (TDSB) to see if SGF is reinforcing a two-tier education system. Five sources of data were analyzed: The SGF Record of the TDSB from 2008-2009, The Preliminary School Budget from 2010-2011, EQAO test results from 2008 to 2009, The Learning Opportunity Index (LOI) from 2009, and three socio-economic status factors (income, education and occupation) using the Toronto Wards Profiles. Using the SGF record, twenty green schools (schools that raised the most SGF, amounting to \$4,043,837) were compared, using the five sources of data against twenty red schools (schools that raised the least amount of SGF, amounting to \$109,885). Two recommendations have been suggested: SGF be capped at a median amount throughout the TDSB and extra funding be put into a funding account for the TDSB to disperse to schools that need it.

Keywords:

School Generated Funding, The Toronto District School Board, EQAO, Two-Tier Education System, Education.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my daughters Andreena and Audrianna, and my husband Umberto.

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Introduction

“We are born weak, we need strength; helpless, we need aid; foolish, we need reason. All that we lack at birth, all that we need when we come to man's estate, is the gift of education” (Rousseau and Foxley, 2009: 11).

This thesis examines the Toronto District School Board's (TDSB) School Generated Funding (SGF) within its public schools to see if it is a factor reinforcing a two-tier education system.

SGF is defined as:

“Funds that are raised and collected in the school or broader community in the name of the school or by a school- or parent-administered group, including school councils. These funds, which are administered by the school, are raised or collected from sources other than the school board's operating and capital budgets. These sources include proceeds from fundraising activities, fees for supplementary learning materials and activities and corporate donations” (Fundraising Resource Guide. 2012: 2).

SGF is all the money collected to support activities not funded through the provincial budget. Schools have the opportunity to collect as much or as little funding for the year through fundraising.

Fundraising is defined as:

“Any activity, permitted under a school board's policy, to raise money or other resources that is approved by the school principal, supported by the school council or a school fundraising organization operating in the name of the school and for which the school provides the administrative processes for collection. Such activities may take place on or off school property” (Ministry of Education, 2011: 2).

According to the TDSB, “school-based fundraising is a local activity....The goals of fundraising go beyond money to reflect the creative and collaborative efforts of parents, students, teachers and the school community” (Fundraising Resource Guide, 2012: 1). School communities may raise SGF “to enhance programs and support school initiatives” (Fundraising Resource Guide, 2012: 1). This leaves fundraising as a voluntary action that requires parents, students and the community to come together for the betterment of the school.

Each school is allowed to individually fundraise if that school chooses. Fundraising money cannot be used for items already funded such as textbooks and other materials needed for learning, structurally upgrading the building of a school, expenses allocated by the administration, or political campaigning. On the other hand, funds can be used to subsidize the costs of field trips, purchasing of equipment for the arts, sports, guest speakers, awards, the introduction of a specific scholarship, playground upgrades, environmental upgrades, and technological advancements.

For accountability, the principal of each school “should prepare an annual report on school-generated funds and post the report on their website.” (Ministry of Education, 2011: 5). The purpose of preparing an annual report on school-generated funds is so that parents, students and the community can see how well or how poorly their school is fundraising for the year. Not only are the collected funds supposed to be posted on the school’s website, the “principal shall, on behalf of the school council, give a copy of the report to every parent of a pupil who, on the date the copy is given, is enrolled in the school” (Procedures for School Council Funds. 2010: 1). Reporting how much funding

was collected and where it was used does not “affect the total amounts allocated by the province to school boards or the amount allocated by the province to any individual school board (Procedures for School Council Funds, 2010: 2).

There are four different forms of fundraising. The first form of fundraising is donations and gifts-in-kind. Donations and gifts in kind are “gifts of human or physical resources or funds to support a specific activity” (Fundraising Resource Guide, 2012: 4). Donations will be administered in accordance with the donor’s intent. Besides, “all accepted donations and gifts-in-kind to schools or to the TDSB from the School Council become the exclusive property of the Board” (Procedures for School Council Funds, 2010: 2).

The second form of fundraising is sponsorships. Sponsorships involve schools receiving money in exchange for “predetermined benefits for the sponsor, including use of corporate logo and/or materials, joint use of a corporate logo with the TDSB logo, media opportunities and other forms of recognition” (Fundraising Resource Guide, 2012: 4). Found in sponsorships are registered charitable organizations and/or foundations. These organizations must be registered with the Canada Revenue Agency and comply with their terms. This form of fundraising must be approved by the TDSB in order for these kinds of organizations to be able to donate to a school or schools.

The third form of fundraising is through raffles and lotteries. Schools interested in holding raffles, bingos or other gaming events require a license from the City of

Toronto” (Fundraising Resource Guide, 2012: 4). Through raffles and lotteries, schools are allowed to sell raffle tickets for a prize.

The last source of funding is through the sale of products. “The most traditional form of fundraising is a raft of products that offer a financial return to the school community in return for sales” (Fundraising Resource Guide, 2012: 5). This would be considered the commercialization of schools; for example, vending machines are placed in schools so whenever a student buys a product, the school reap a benefit.

Within the TDSB, there is a Business Development hotline that deals directly with issues and inquires in regards to fundraising. The TDSB, within its policies, have stated, on several documents, that accountability requires schools to record and send their SGF record to the board. This record, however, has rarely been circulated until the Toronto Star leaked the 2008-2009 SGF record; outrage sparked within the public because of the dramatic difference in funding among schools.

Schools are not only funded by SGF. There is a staff and base school allocation budget for all the schools in the TDSB, which is monitored. However, SGF is the only funding that is not properly monitored.

The lack of monitoring SGF is reinforcing a two-tier education system. Schools that raised the most SGF, classified throughout this thesis as *green schools*, are being found in the top-tier of the education system. Schools that raised the least SGF, classified throughout this thesis as *red schools*, are being found in the bottom-tier

education system. SGF allows schools to be able to afford more field trips, technological advancements within the classrooms like smart boards and tablets, breakfast programs, enrichment programs, and any other extra-curricular activities not or limitedly provided through provincial budgets. Therefore the new inequalities generated by the SGF refer to unequal opportunities and resources offered to the students. This creates a disadvantage for the schools and students that cannot and do not fundraise as much as others.

In this respect, the purpose of this thesis is to expand knowledge on the role of SGF in the growing disparity in the educational systems in Ontario by addressing three related questions: how SGF reinforces a funding inequality between green and red schools; how SGF raised in the green schools is more than the Preliminary School Budget (PSB) from the Provincial Government (this number does not include teacher salaries); and how SGF within the TDSB reinforces a two-tier education system among grade three students based on socio-economic status.

This thesis has three chapters. Within chapter one, a history of funding will be explained in order to show how and why SGF became a source of funding within the education system. After the history of funding, a background of the TDSB, the largest school board in Ontario will be explained. The TDSB's mission on education will be determined, as the board believes that equality is occurring among all students within their board. The media however, thinks otherwise. Articles from the Toronto Star and The National Post, as well as research about SGF from community group like People

for Education and Social Planning Toronto will be included in this chapter as it shows how the public feels about SGF.

Chapter two presents the key findings of this thesis. Five data sets are introduced. The first data set is the SGF record of the TDSB for the year 2008-2009. What this data set shows is the SGF record of all the schools in the TDSB. Schools are ranked according to how much funding each school has raised. Forty schools were analyzed; twenty top-funded schools (schools that raised the most SGF) are classified as green schools and twenty bottom-funded schools (schools that raised the least SGF) are classified as red schools. The importance of this data set is to see the difference in SGF raised by both the green and red schools.

The second data set is the TDSB's Preliminary School Budget (PSB) for 2010-2011. What this data set shows is the base school allocation, which determines how much funding each school receives from the provincial government for the year. The PSB allocates money to all schools based on enrolment as opposed to SGF, which is based on how much each individual school can raise. The PSB does not include teacher salaries; it only factors in student-gear expenses like classroom furniture, special programs, some technological advancements, library expenses and classroom supplies. Therefore, I compare the SGF record from 2008-2009 against the PSB for 2010-2011 to see the significance SGF has on the total funding given to both the green and red schools. Although it would be preferred to use the same year, there is no data from the PSB for the year 2008-2009. Therefore, my option was to use the 2010-2011 PSB to give an idea of the discrepancies.

The purpose of this data set is to compare provincial government funding per school against SGF per school. For example, one of my findings from one green school suggests that this green school's SGF for the year raised more money than the PSB by \$304,276. This means that only 12% of total funding came from the PSB and 89% from SGF, when looking at just the base school allocation and SGF, not including teacher salaries.

The third data set is the Learning Opportunity Index (LOI) that can only be found in the TDSB. It is based on "measures of external challenges affecting student success" (LOI, 2010: 1). The importance of this data set is that it ranks schools according to the greatest amount of external challenges that affect educational achievement. I compare the 2009 LOI of the twenty top-funded green schools against the twenty bottom-funded red schools; this is to see if the green schools suffer less from external challenges, such as low-income and single parent households, and if the red suffer more. Generally speaking, we will see that schools, which suffer less from external challenges, also receive more SGF. In this sense, the SGF is a reinforcing mechanism of social inequalities working in favour of the privileged schools.

The fourth data set is the Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO) test results from the year 2008-2009 of grade three students. EQAO test scores are used to measure educational achievement within the TDSB. The green and red schools from the SGF record will have their EQAO test scores compared. This is to determine if a correlation is made between green schools funding and high levels of educational

achievement, and red schools funding and low levels of educational achievement. From there, what will be shown is that SGF reinforces a two-tier education system. I based the classification of this two-tier education system on the Ontario Provincial Standard.

The fifth data set is the Toronto Wards Profile that was devised using the information from the 2006 Census of Canada. There are forty-four wards within Toronto. Generally speaking, each ward within Toronto has certain socio-economic status characteristics that separate one ward from another. Therefore, The Toronto Wards Profile will be used to examine the socio-economic status factors of both the green and red school wards in understanding where SGF is generated. The purpose of this chapter is to compare green and red school wards based on these socio-economic status factors: income, education and occupation.

In chapter three, overall findings including my recommendations and conclusion are presented. Based on the key findings of this thesis, two policy recommendations are presented to create more equality for students in regards to SGF.

Chapter 1: Where Funding all Began

1.1 The History of Funding in Ontario

“The school or community council, sometimes envisioned as a substitute for school boards... would put management back in the hands of those who had the greatest stake in the school: parents, teachers, and other members of the local community” (Gidney, 1999: 197).

From 1867 to 1945, SGF did not exist. According to Gidney, (1999), up until that point, the provincial government determined funding. The provincial government put the responsibility of education in the hands of local municipalities and local school boards, giving them permission to collect a substantial portion of money from the property tax base to fund education. The property tax base, which are taxes collected from homeowners and local businesses, were used to provide social services to each local municipality. This meant that local school boards and municipalities could distribute funding where it would be most fit. With over 3000 school boards within Ontario at the time, this meant that each municipality had hundreds of school boards that needed money to fund education through the property tax base. Every school was basically a school board. Problems arose as there were too many school boards that needed money from the property tax base and there was no formula as to how the property tax base could be distributed.

With such disorganization, in the 1940's the Conservatives were elected into power. This reign would last forty years. With the Conservatives in power, the Ministry of Education became more involved in the regulation of educational affairs. The

Ministry of Education decreased the amount of school boards from “3500 to 230” (Gidney, 1999: 49). Second, instead of school boards being able to acquire substantial portions from the property taxes, school boards were now limited. A fixed mill rate was set so that a defined percentage from property taxes would go to education. If schools needed extra funding, the provincial government could help through transfers and government grants.

All seemed to be in working order until the baby boom of 1946 to 1964. During that time, the population increased significantly as people returning from the Second World War were starting families. With such an increase in the population, this meant that more children would be attending school, putting pressure on the fixed mill rate. Smaller schools were closed to make room for bigger schools, increased spending for school upgrades were mandatory, more teachers were needed to be trained and hired, and technological advancements that were once a luxury became a standard in every school.

With a fixed mill rate on property taxes in place that did not cover all the costs for education that school boards incurred, more money needed to be administered. So the provincial government had to make up for the increased deficit being placed on education. In the beginning of the baby boom “the province paid about 36 per cent of school operating costs; by 1967 this had risen to 47 per cent and by the early 1970s would reach 60 per cent” (Gidney, 1999: 57). This meant that the province would be forced to pay sixty percent of educational costs. This left forty percent to be paid through the property taxes base.

Sixty percent of educational costs that were not covered by the property tax base meant that the extra funding needed to be collected somehow. So the provincial government came up with two options: the money was either going to come from an increase in sales taxes or a decrease in income tax returns. As much as the Conservatives were content with spending sixty percent of educational costs, the Liberals and the NDP's wanted the provincial share at eighty percent. The Conservatives lost the 1985 election to the Liberals. Determined to increase the provincial share from sixty to eighty percent, the Liberals pushed forward to reach their goal. But after two years there was no change in educational spending and the Liberals actually decreased their promise of eighty percent spending on education to sixty percent.

With the shattered promises from the Liberals, in the 1990 election, Bob Rae and the NDP were elected into power. Although the NDP had the same agenda as the Liberals when it came to educational spending, the NDP proposed a new way of paying the provincial share of sixty percent. Instead of enforcing an increase in the amount of sales tax collected or a decrease in income tax returns, the NDP drafted that SGF be the replacement. SGF is money raised by school and parent councils to participate in programs, field trips and any other extra-curricular activities not funded through per-pupil funding.

Drafted in the Royal Commission on Learning was the recommendation "that every school create a school-community council, with staff, parents, students and

community representatives, to better link school and community” (Royal Commission on Learning, 1995: 1). The purpose of SGF was not only to include staff, parents, students and communities together; it was also to alleviate the provincial government from having to pay the sixty percent of educational spending. SGF however was not implemented at this time because Bob Rae and The NDP lost the 1995 election to Mike Harris and the Conservatives. The Conservatives introduced the Common Sense Revolution- a revolution that would cut “the province’s deficit, expenditures, budgets and taxes” (Ibbitson, 1997: 230).

Mike Harris and the Conservatives implemented everything that The Royal Commission on Learning suggested; especially SGF as this new initiative allowed the provincial government to spend less on education and force schools, parents and the community to work in unison for the sake of each individual school. Under the Common Sense Revolution’s platform, “expenditure reductions of \$400 million from 1996 school board budgets were announced, representing a dramatic \$1 billion cut from the system on an annualized basis” (Sattler, 2012: 11). What this meant was that schools would still be given per-pupil funding according to enrolment but extra funding would have to be raised through SGF.

The Harris Government also introduced two new bills: Bill 104 decreased school boards from 129 to 66; and Bill 106 allocated how much money would go to schools and what the money allocated would be spent on. Bill 106 cut funding altogether which created the largest strike among teachers in Ontario. The problem with both of these bills was that school boards still needed more funding but funding was getting cut. With

school boards in need of more funding, they were forced to find money in other avenues. SGF was the perfect avenue for collecting money because it would give the job of finding funding from the TDSB to individual schools; schools were forced to become active participants in the welfare of their school. This meant that schools, parents and school communities were responsible for as much or as little funding as was raised. According to The Ministry of Education it does not matter how much funding is raised as long as it is reported annually.

1.2 The Toronto District School Board

*“Our mission is to enable all students to reach high levels of achievement and to acquire the knowledge, skills and values they need to become responsible members of a democratic society”
(The Toronto District School Board, 2011: 1).*

In the Province of Ontario, at the elementary school level, there are seventy-two boards, “1.4 million students... and 4,000 publicly funded elementary schools” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2011:1). Out of those seventy-two boards, only one will be examined and that is the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). The TDSB is the largest school board in Ontario, which is why this thesis analyzes this board. Also, the TDSB has their financial documentation readily and publicly available to analyze. For other school boards this is not the case. Within the TDSB, there are “550 schools, 290,000 elementary and secondary students and 155,000 continuing education students” (TDSB, 2011: 1).

The TDSB states that,

“We value: each and every student; a strong education system; a partnerships of students, schools, family and community; the uniqueness and diversity of students and our community; the commitment and skills of staff; equity, innovation, accountability and accessibility; and learning environments that are safe, nurturing, positive and respectful” (Fundraising Resource Guide, 2012: 7).

The TDSB prides itself on having schools and classrooms that provide “excellent modern learning environments and programs our student’s need. Those needs are changing as we work to equip our students with the critical skills necessary to succeed in the 21st century” (TDSB, 2011: 1). The TDSB is confident that all students

are given an equal opportunity to learn and prosper educationally and technologically. All students are valued, respected and safe when attending a school found within the TDSB. According to the TDSB, “we are Canada’s most culturally diverse school board and celebrate our diversity with more than 80 languages represented in our schools...30% of our students were born outside of Canada in more than 175 different countries” (TDSB, 2011:1).

As a publicly funded institute, the TDSB is to provide a fair education for all students. This is difficult to obtain with SGF. The TDSB promotes that it “enables all students to reach high levels of achievement and to acquire the knowledge, skills and values they need to become responsible members of a democratic society” (TDSB, 2011: 1). However, this sense of all students being enabled is not practiced in actuality, as I will show throughout this thesis. It is mostly the top-funded schools that are being taught the knowledge, skills and values needed to function in this society. The bottom-funded schools are not. As parents, communities and the media were starting to find out about the differences in SGF, there was more of an outcry for a change to this funding system.

1.3 School Generated Funding Disparities in the Media.

“Hungry kids have trouble learning” (Winsa, 2009: 1).

In the media, there has been an outcry for regulation in SGF, based on some students given opportunities that others students could only dream of. Sometimes, it is not opportunity but rather lunch.

According to an article from *The Star*, SGF allows a gap between schools to increase. Patty Winsa, a reporter from *The Star*, interviewed two different schools: one that received a significant amount of SGF and one that did not. Flemington Public School and Blythwood Public School are two schools found within the TDSB, “but there is a difference in one critical area of their life: food” (Winsa, 2009: 1). “At Flemington, the schools lunch program is in peril and come September, the students – who live in households where the average income is \$16,000 – could go hungry” (Winsa, 2009: 1). “Across town, Blythwood Public School in Lawrence Park does not need to provide its students with lunch. But the students can choose from an after-lunch menu that includes Irish dancing, music IQ, beadology, basketball and Artstart” (Winsa, 2009: 1). As you can see, this gap in funding is making lunch programs at schools in need harder to attain; this gap is also resulting in some poverty-stricken students receiving a lower education. As a matter of fact, “students who live in poverty fall behind in school as early as Grade 3, according to a recent survey of Toronto's public elementary schools” (Winsa, 2009: 1).

What is happening is that “schools in wealthy neighbourhoods are raising more funds, while students from poor areas, who need these resources even more, are raising little money, if any” (*Winsa*, 2009: 1). The difference in SGF provides some schools with “more money to pay for library books, extra textbooks, computers, sports, classroom supplies, field trips and arts and music programming” (*Winsa*, 2009: 1). Even if, according to the funding policies, extra textbooks are not to be bought with SGF, some schools in dire need have no other choice. This is in part because of the funding cuts implemented by the Harris Government.

According to *Winsa*, “under Mike Harris' Conservative government, mandatory school councils were swept in with a wave of education reform. At the time, the councils were created to advise on curriculum, but the majority have branched out into fundraising” (*Winsa*, 2009: 1). Obviously the efficiency of the SGF as a source of funding is connected to the socio-economic status of a community and parents. And as such, “it is, in effect, creating a two-tier public education system” (*Winsa*, 2009: 1).

According to Wallace Kenyon from the *National Post*, school councils, “instead of working to improve student achievement and increase parent involvement in the education system...spend most of their time fundraising for items as basic as textbooks, computers and classroom supplies” (*Wallace Kenyon*, 2010:1). What are being seen throughout Toronto are schools having to use SGF to pay for textbooks, which is an unaccepted use of funds according to the fundraising guidelines. Kenyon further states that “fifty-six per cent of councils reported that fundraising goes toward buying supplies such as textbooks or computers, while 53% said they needed to raise money for library

books - all items that are supposed to be provided through provincial funding” (*Wallace Kenyon*, 2010:1). All money raised from SGF in poorer schools is going towards items that should already be covered under provincial funding.

It seems, throughout the media, that the poorer schools use SGF for textbooks while the rich schools use their funding for enriched programs. Patty Winsa and Kristin Rushowy from their article in *The Star* state, “the top 20 money-generating elementary schools, primarily in wealthy neighbourhoods, collected a total of \$4.4 million, compared with just \$103,000 for the bottom 20 schools, most in needy areas” (*Winsa and Rushowy*, 2012:1). What these numbers show is a four million dollar gap between schools. There is no wonder why some schools cannot afford lunch programs; there is not enough money collected in the needy schools to go around.

According to Kristin Rushowy from *The Toronto Star*, “these days, parents are paying a hefty price to send their children to public school” (*Rushowy*, 1999:1). Schools are starting to rely on donations from corporations instead of pooling all money together so that the provincial government can disperse it according to need. “This week Wal-Mart jumped on the school fundraising bandwagon, announcing that it has adopted 163 schools across Canada and will help them with everything from donations to in-store fundraising events” (*Rushowy*, 1999:1). What this means is that only some schools will be funded by Wal-Mart. The TDSB is one out of seventy-two boards; if Wal-Mart is funding 163 schools, how much will realistically be funded in the TDSB? On top of that, allowing Wal-Mart to help with funding shows a separation from the state and church to state and private enterprise. We are allowing private corporations and the

economic market to fund our students, which allows the economy to become a part of the classroom successes and failures. The market has now replaced the church.

Additionally, SGF causes poorer parents to feel at fault for not being able to highly fundraise. But it is not the fault of the parents, rich or poor. The ‘hefty price’ that parents are now paying was never dependent on the economic standing of parents; it is now because of Mike Harris’s Bill 160. As stated, Bill 160 cut funding dramatically, leaving schools to rely on SGF to pay for expenses not covered by the provincial government.

Overall, parents, teachers, communities and students are frustrated with the inequalities that SGF is reinforcing. The TDSB believes that it is every school’s responsibility to fundraise but this is unfair for people who simply cannot afford to. SGF is thus left into the hands of those who can afford it, leaving others who cannot to suffer because of it. Even though the TDSB says that the goal of fundraising is to “go beyond money to reflect the creative and collaborative efforts of parents, students, teachers and the school community,” (TDSB, 2011:1) how can students be creative if they cannot afford to engage in such activities? With SGF creating such a divide based on resources available, it is reasonable to think that it reinforces the establishment of a two-tier education system.

1.3.1 People for Education and Social Planning Toronto

There are two groups who have been documenting and analyzing SGF in Toronto. The two groups are the People for Education and Social Planning Toronto. Both of these groups have released lengthy annual documents. However, I will only be focusing on their sections that pertain to funding in the TDSB.

According to the People for Education, its “survey data show that schools’ capacity to fundraise is also affected by average family incomes. Schools in the top 10% [of fundraising schools] fundraise five times the amount of those in the bottom 10%. As a result, some children have a double disadvantage” (People for Education, 2012: 14). The double disadvantage is that students do not have the resources at home or at school to succeed. “The inequity plays out even more clearly when the top fundraising schools are compared to the rest. In both elementary and secondary, the top 10% of fundraising schools raise more than the bottom 75% combined. Some schools raise as much as \$500,000, while others raise nothing” (People for Education, 2012: 28).

What is shown is that these rich neighbourhoods are producing rich schools. On top of that, SGF is reinforcing an enormous gap between rich and poor students. Once again, the top 10% of highly fundraised schools generated more money than the bottom 75% of lower fundraised schools. While the poor schools are fundraising to buy extra textbooks, the rich schools are buying “enhanced materials to support regular courses, but there is no clear definition of what qualifies as enhanced” (People for Education, 2012: 29). Rich schools do not have to spend extra SGF on textbooks like the poor

schools. And if the rich schools do, they can afford it, along with the enhanced, undefined materials.

According to Social Planning Toronto, this organization further looked at SGF and educational achievement using the Learning Opportunity Index (LOI). The LOI is a measure that is based on school and student achievement. LOI focuses on defining which schools have the most external challenges. The variables which are used are: “median income; percentage of families with incomes below the Low Income Measure (before tax); percentage of families receiving social assistance; adults with low education; adults with university degrees; and lone parent families” (LOI, 2010: 1).

What they have found is that “over three years the 20 least marginalized primary schools fundraised 36 times the funds than the most marginalized 20 schools: \$249,362.51 per school compared to \$6,922.98 per school” (Social Planning Toronto, 2011: 19). “Through fees and fundraising, the most marginalized 20% of the schools in the system raise less than 1/3 of the funds that the least marginalized 20% of schools raise” (Social Planning, Toronto: 19). Not surprisingly it further states that “the schools generating the most funds are located in wealthier neighbourhoods, while the schools generating the least funds are in poorer neighbourhoods” (Social Planning, Toronto, 2011: 19).

The findings from Social Planning Toronto correlates to the People for Education’s findings and to what the media has been publishing. But yet, the TDSB has said nothing about these inequalities. People for Education recommend “the province

develop a new Equity in Education Grant, designated solely for providing programs to mitigate socio-economic and ethno-racial factors affecting students (People for Education, 2012: 29). Social Planning Toronto, on the other hand, has two recommendations. First, they suggest that the Ministry of Education “fund the education system so that it is not necessary for schools to rely on fundraising, fees and corporate partnerships – private money – to finance our public education system” (Social Planning, Toronto, 2011: 41). Second, the Ministry of Education “eliminate fundraising in schools beyond the raising of funds to donate to social justice causes outside the public system as it leads to inequitable opportunities and outcomes for students” (Social Planning, Toronto, 2011: 41).

This thesis builds upon the above existing studies and affirms their shared assertion that it is the government's responsibility to promote equality through supporting the public educational systems. In addition, this thesis adopts a more comprehensive approach based on an examination of the historical process of public education financing in Canada and five official data sets to attest that SGF, as it is practiced in Ontario today, is driving public education to a two-tiered system. It proposes that to reverse the growth of inequality, it is desirable for city governments to step up their role in promoting public education with the participation of local communities and citizens.

The TDSB is an agency where citizens, communities and the city government meet to secure and promote equality in education. Canada in recent decades has seen a stronger role municipal governments are playing in securing welfare of local society,

including such services as housing, and other community services. In conclusion, this thesis proposes two alternative policy recommendations to allow the city government to use its regulatory leverage to address growing disparities stemming from the current SGF practice.

Chapter Two: Green/Red School Findings

2.1 First Data Set: SGF Record of the TDSB

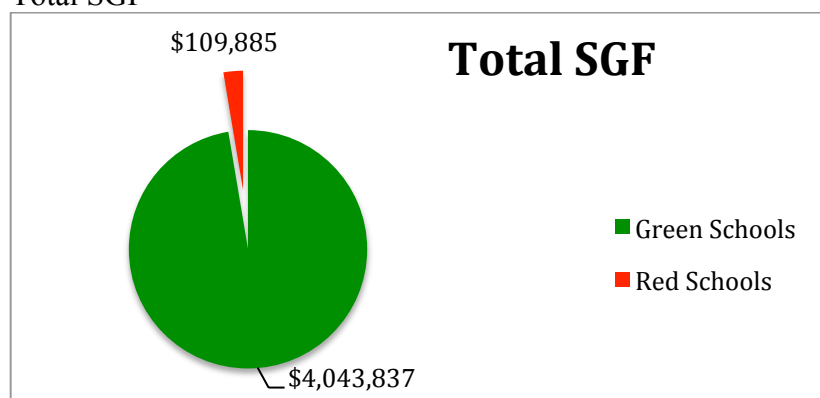
“The purpose of life is to live it, to taste experience to the utmost, to reach out eagerly and without fear for newer and richer experience” (Eleanor Roosevelt).

Once again, the SGF Record is a written document that records all the fundraised money individual elementary schools in the TDSB have raised; it does not include provincial grants or provincial budgets. The SGF record is separated into two forms of funding: School Generated Funds, which are based on in-school fundraisers like the Terry Fox Run; and parent council funds, which is money collected directly from parents and the community.

Based on this document, one can compare the amount of money collected by different schools through the SGF. By doing this, we can see from SGF that inequalities are being reinforced between schools in the areas of Toronto and the TDSB. In the TDSB, there were 475 elementary schools whose SGF record was recorded from 2008-2009. For my thesis, I looked at forty elementary schools in the TDSB. I wanted to see the extreme funding differences between the top funded schools and the bottom funded schools. Therefore, I looked at the twenty top-funded schools, in which I classify as green schools. The term ‘green’ is used because it symbolizes money. I compare the twenty top-funded green schools to the twenty bottom-funded schools, classified as the red schools. The term ‘red’ is used because it symbolizes a shortage of money. For my thesis, I compare green and red schools based on the total SGF raised.

Figure 2.1.1

Total SGF



This figure is based on the SGF Record for 2008-2009

Table 2.1.1

SGF of the Green and Red Schools

Green Schools	SGF 2008-2009	Red Schools	SGF 2008-2009
Whitney Jr PS	\$349,915	Braeburn Jr PS	\$7,869
Lambton-Kingsway JMS	\$279,926	Galloway Road PS	\$7,501
John Ross Robertson Jr PS	\$253,478	Regent Park-Duke of York Jr PS	\$7,428
Owen PS	\$246,093	Nelson Mandela Park PS	\$7,253
Northlea E & MS	\$240,390	Chester Le Jr PS	\$7,062
Humber Valley Village JMS	\$238,641	Stanley PS	\$6,646
Deer Park Jr & Sr PS	\$234,605	Bruce Jr PS	\$6,608
Denlow PS	\$229,060	Highview PS	\$6,475
Forest Hill Jr & Sr PS	\$222,775	Ogden Jr PS	\$6,241
Bedford Park Jr PS	\$191,383	Cordella Jr PS	\$5,948
Lillian PS	\$190,630	Warren Park Jr PS	\$5,837
Swansea Jr & Sr PS	\$185,386	William G Davis Jr PS	\$5,325
Humbercrest PS	\$172,143	Tom Longboat Jr PS	\$4,888
Armour Heights PS	\$152,835	Cottingham PS	\$4,776
Brown JR PS	\$150,860	Roywood PS	\$4,755
John Wanless Jr PS	\$148,515	O'Connor PS	\$4,294
Dublin Heights E & MS	\$144,222	McMurrich Jr PS	\$4,069
Summit Heights PS	\$142,775	Pauline Johnson Jr PS	\$3,928
Terry Fox PS	\$136,621	Bala Community School	\$1,576
McKee PS	\$133,584	Rose Avenue PS	\$1,406
Total	\$4,043,837	Total	\$109,885
Average	\$202,192	Average	\$5,494

*Jr=Junior / Sr=Senior / PS=Public School / JMS=Junior Middle School / E and MS=Elementary and Middle School
This table is based on information found from the SGF Record, 2009, The Toronto Star Archives*

Figure 2.1.1 shows the total amount of SGF raised by the green and red schools. From Figure 2.1.1 what can be seen is that the green schools raise more SGF than the red schools. The green schools, in total have raised \$4,043,837 in SGF. The red schools, in total, have raised \$109,885 in SGF. There is a \$3,933,952 gap between funding from the green schools to the red schools. This amount of funding raised is only for the year 2008-2009.

Table 2.1.1 shows all the green and red schools according to the amount of SGF raised. From Table 2.1.1 what is shown is that for the green schools, there is one school that generated over \$300,000, eight schools that generated between \$200,000 and \$299,999, and eleven schools who generated between \$100,000 and \$199,999.

For the red schools, all twenty schools generated under \$10,000. The gap between funding is significantly vast as the average SGF raised in the green schools was \$202,192. The average SGF raised in the red schools was \$5,494.

When comparing the top funded schools, the top funded green school was Whitney Jr PS. Whitney Jr PS raised \$349,915. The top funded red school was Braeburn Jr PS. Braeburn Jr PS raised \$7,869. Whitney Jr PS raised \$342,046 more than Braeburn Jr PS in SGF.

Although it is up to the school communities and parents to fundraise, having thousand dollar gaps between schools, which further relates to differences in

educational achievement among schools is unfair. The total amount of SGF raised was \$24,109,434 for 475 schools in the TDSB. Looking at the top twenty-funded green schools, the total SGF raised was \$4,043,837. The twenty top-funded green schools represent 17% of the total SGF raised. Looking at the twenty bottom-funded red schools, the total SGF raised was \$109,885. The twenty bottom-funded red schools represent 0.05% of the total SGF raised. This is a huge gap between the twenty top-funded green schools and the twenty bottom-funded red schools.

When comparing the bottom-funded schools, the bottom-funded green school was McKee PS. McKee PS raised \$133,584. The bottom-funded red school, Rose Avenue PS, raised \$1,406. The difference between funding is \$132,178. The gap between the green and red schools makes a difference in the opportunities each school can afford.

To put this in perspective, to attend the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) the general admission for a student is \$13. Factoring in two classes of thirty students, the cost to attend the ROM is \$780. That is more than half of the total funding that the bottom-funded red school receives for the year. This cost does not include a chartered bus, as this addition cost would exceed the total budget of \$1,406. Moreover, how many field trips will the bottom-funded red school realistically go on compared to the top-funded green school? The highest funded school can afford to take several field trips with several classes to the ROM, the Science Centre, The CN Tower, Ripley's Aquarium and any other place of interest.

What is happening because of SGF is a divide in the experiences students are partaking in. These experiences help shape students as they are taught theoretical, practical and hands on knowledge. But some students cannot afford to engage in these experiences although the higher quality of experience through school time better prepares students to live. For example, if the players of a hockey team are in a discussion about their trip to the ROM, the student who didn't attend because their school did not generate enough SGF will stay quiet; the quiet student will have no cultural capital because the experience of attending the ROM did not happen. It could be from this lack of outside the classroom experiences that social classes are reproduced. Although poverty is mostly about the lack of money, it also has a lot to do with the lack of cultural capital.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, Cultural Capital is one of four forms of capital that people possess. Cultural capital "refers to the informal social skills, habitus, linguistic styles and tastes that a person garners" (Allan, 2011: 421). It is the way that we act, speak and socialize from our class background. It is from these outside the classroom experiences that shape each student's taste and cultural capital. Poverty decreases the amount of cultural capital a person obtains because it is expensive to experience trips to art galleries, museums and science centers.

Schools however, should make up for this lack of cultural capital through field trips if experiences that increase cultural capital cannot be achieved at home. Just because a parent and community can fundraise more than another does not mean that

the student attending the underfunded school should be placed at a disadvantage within a publicly funded institution. Publicly funded institutions like schools and school boards were created so that the socio-economic status of all people did not determine the education each student was to receive. Instead, parents and communities with more economic resources are being able to offer their students a better education and a higher cultural capital in a system that is supposed to be free.

2.2 Second Data Set: Preliminary School Budget

The Preliminary School Budget (PSB) is the amount of money schools receive from the provincial government to pay for student-gear expenses, not including teacher salaries. Teacher salaries are included in a staff allocation budget, which is separate from the PSB. Within the staff allocation budget, “staff salaries and benefits represent 67% of our overall budget and decisions” (TDSB: The Budget Process, 2013: 1).

The PSB is based on enrolment. Each school receives a per-pupil amount of funding that is fairly distributed according to enrollment. All schools receive a “base school allotment of \$5,000 Elementary and \$10,000 Secondary” (TDSB, 2013: 1). This school budget was developed using the senior administration of the TSDB schools. “The general per pupil allocation is \$96.50 per pupil for Elementary” (TDSB School Budget Allocation, 2013, 1).

This allocation is intended to cover:

- Classroom supplies (including audio visual, software, etc.), textbooks, subscriptions, etc.
- New Furniture and equipment (including computers requested in addition to the central plan)
- Furniture and equipment repairs and service
- Fees for athletic events
- Other: administration fees, field trips (charter bus and TTC trips), prizes, commencements, printing costs, internet connections, any other discretionary items
(TDSB School Budget Allocation, 2013, 1).

Found within the PSB are six allocations:

- Library Allocation: \$17 is allocated per pupil and this includes library books, equipment and furniture.
- School Office Allocation: \$23.50 is allocated per pupil to cover printing costs, extra office help, furniture/equipment maintenance and repair, phone charges, marketing and anything else found within the office.
- School Council Allocation: \$1.25 per pupil is allocated for school council meetings.
- Professional Development: \$5 per pupil is allocated for schools to participate in professional development in the form of registration fees for conferences, expenses due to travelling, etc.
- Learning Opportunity Grants: These grants are based on the Learning Opportunity Index and need.
- Special Allocation: This allocation is based on enriched programs that focus on arts, athletics, science, technology, and business
(TDSB School Budget, 2013: 1).

2.2.1 SGF VS PSB

Table 2.2.1.1

SGF VS PSB

Green Schools	SGF Funding 2008-2009	PSB 2010- 2011	Enrollment 2008-2009	SGF per student		Red Schools	SGF Funding	PSB 2010- 2011	Enrollment 2008-2009	SGF per student
Whitney Jr PS	\$349,915	\$45,639	341	\$1026		Braeburn Jr PS	\$7,869	\$44,635	305	\$26
Lambton- Kingsway JMS	\$279,926	\$112,562	745	\$376		Galloway Road PS	\$7,501	\$46,323	224	\$33
John Ross Robertson Jr PS	\$253,478	\$84,938	561	\$452		Regent Park-Duke of York Jr PS	\$7,428	n/a	342	\$22
Owen PS	\$246,093	\$80,477	562	\$438		Nelson Mandela Park PS	\$7,253	\$78,758	431	\$17
Northlea E & MS	\$240,390	\$139,864	893	\$269		Chester Le Jr PS	\$7,062	\$44,547	191	\$37
Humber Valley Village JMS	\$238,641	\$70,863	431	\$554		Stanley PS	\$6,646	\$56,884	359	\$19
Deer Park Jr & Sr PS	\$234,605	\$87,501	529	\$443		Bruce Jr PS	\$6,608	\$39,602	190	\$35
Denlow PS	\$229,060	\$81,982	529	\$433		Highview PS	\$6,475	\$37,777	198	\$33
Forest Hill Jr & Sr PS	\$222,775	\$84,958	541	\$412		Ogden Jr PS	\$6,241	\$39,219	176	\$35
Bedford Park Jr PS	\$191,383	\$86,542	485	\$395		Cordella Jr PS	\$5,948	\$37,901	161	\$37
Lillian PS	\$190,630	\$52,908	299	\$638		Warren Park Jr PS	\$5,837	\$33,032	154	\$38
Swansea Jr & Sr PS	\$185,386	\$110,167	663	\$280		William G Davis Jr PS	\$5,325	\$45,405	263	\$20
Humbercrest PS	\$172,143	\$115,718	693	\$248		Tom Longboat Jr PS	\$4,888	\$64,489	364	\$13
Armour Heights PS	\$152,835	\$54,549	337	\$454		Cottingham PS	\$4,776	\$26,182	121	\$39
Brown Jr PS	\$150,860	\$81,406	524	\$288		Roywood PS	\$4,755	\$40,161	225	\$21
John Wanless Jr PS	\$148,515	\$105,865	731	\$203		O'Connor PS	\$4,294	\$39,570	221	\$19
Dublin Heights E & MS	\$144,222	\$98,198	525	\$275		McMurrich Jr PS	\$4,069	\$58,027	397	\$10
Summit Heights PS	\$142,775	\$52,221	285	\$501		Pauline Johnson Jr PS	\$3,928	\$45,422	255	\$15
Terry Fox PS	\$136,621	\$95,090	482	\$283		Bala Community School	\$1,576	\$46,594	243	\$6
McKee PS	\$133,584	\$93,801	628	\$213		Rose Avenue PS	\$1,406	\$93,404	549	\$2
Total	\$4,043,837	\$1,735,249	10,784	\$374 per student		Total	\$109,885	\$917,932	5,369	\$20 per student
% Spent	70%	30%				% Spent	11%	89%		

The information from this table was based on the SGF Record, 2009, The Toronto Star Archives and the TDSB's School Budget for 2010-2011 found on the TDSB's website.

Table 2.2.1.1 shows the green and red schools SGF record from 2008-2009 being compared against the 2010-2011 PSB.¹ According to Table 2.2.1.1 the green schools raise more SGF than the PSB allocates. The red schools do not. In total, the green schools raised \$4,043,837 from SGF. The green schools were allocated \$1,753,249 from PSB because the enrollment for the twenty green schools was 10,784 students. When adding both funds together, the total amount of funding was \$5,779,086. Therefore, the green schools receive 70% of funding from SGF and 30% from the PSB.

The total SGF the red schools raised was \$109,885. The total PSB was \$917,932 because the enrollment for the twenty red schools was 5,369 students. When adding both funds together, the total amount of funding was \$1,027,817. Therefore, the red schools receive 11% from SGF and 89% from the PSB.

What can be seen is that the green schools are very active participants of SGF. This is evident because they have raised even more SGF than the PSB allocates. The red schools on the other hand are not as actively involved in SGF. The amount of SGF raised is lower than the amount of PSB allocated.

When looking at the highest SGF raised by a green school, Whitney PS raised \$349,915 of SGF and was allocated \$45,639 from the PSB. The total amount of funding for Whitney PS was \$395,554. Therefore, Whitney PS receives 88% of its total funding from SGF and it receives 12% from the PSB. When looking at the highest SGF raised

¹ The PSB and SGF record are not for the same year. Data from the 2008-2009 PSB could not be found. The closest year found was 2010-2011. The PSB and SGF comparison is to give an idea of how much the green schools actively participate in SGF as opposed to the red schools.

by a red school, Braeburn Jr PS raised \$7,869 and received \$44,635 from the PSB. The total amount of funding for Braeburn Jr PS was \$52,504. Therefore, Braeburn Jr PS received 15% of its total funding from SGF and 85% from the PSB.

According to per pupil funding, generally \$96.50 is allocated by the PSB per student. When looking at SGF per student, Whitney PS can spend an extra \$1,026 per student as opposed to Braeburn Jr PS who can spend an extra \$26 per student. The main effect is that the 'democratic' funding of the public system is distorted by the SGF, especially if you calculate SGF per student.

When looking at the lowest SGF raised by a green school, McKee PS raised \$133,584 for SGF and receives from the PSB \$93,801. The total amount of funding received was \$227,385. Therefore, McKee PS receives 59% of its total funding from SGF and it receives 41% from the PSB. When looking at the lowest SGF raised by a red school, Rose Avenue PS raised \$1,406 for SGF and received \$93,404. The total amount of funding for Rose Avenue PS was \$94,810. Therefore Rose Avenue PS received 1% from SGF and received 99% from the PSB. According to SGF per student, McKee PS can spend an extra \$213 per student as opposed to Rose Avenue PS that can spend an extra \$2 per student.

As stated, PSB's are based on enrollment. Therefore, I wanted to look at a school that had the highest enrollment. The green school with the highest enrollment was Northlea E and MS. This school had an enrollment of 893 students. The SGF for Northlea E and MS was \$240,390 and the PSB was \$139,864. The total amount of

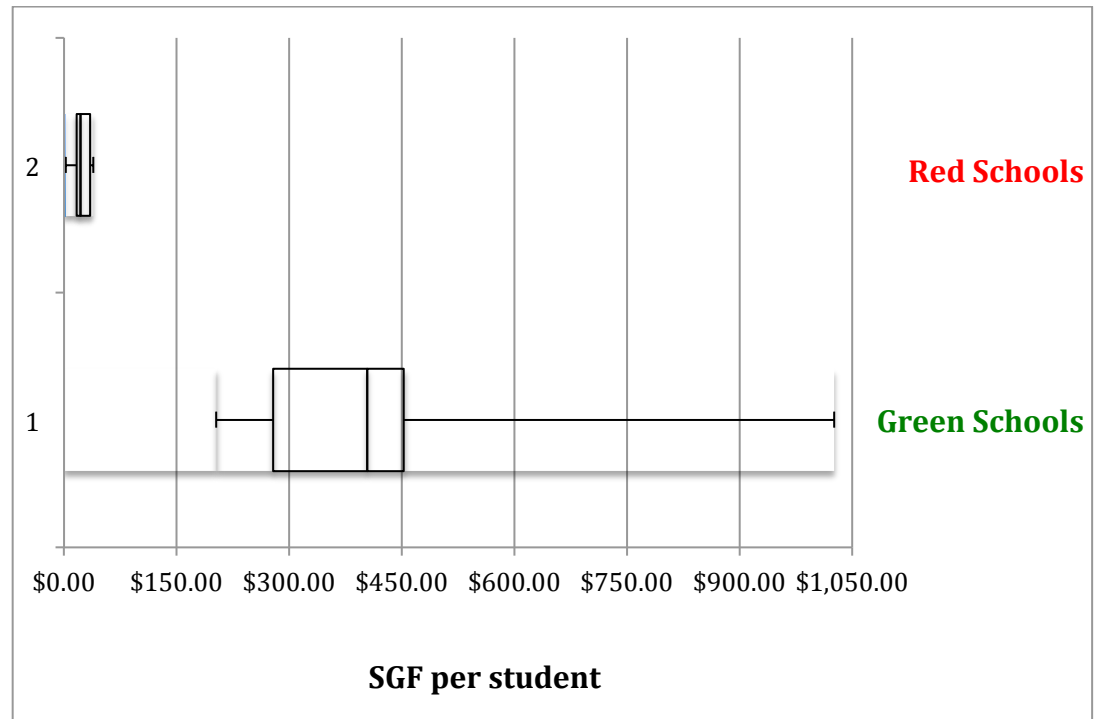
funding was \$380,254. Therefore Northlea receives 63% of its total funding from SGF and 37% from the PSB. The highest enrolled red school, with 549 students enrolled was Rose Avenue PS as well, which shows that the lowest SGF school also has the highest enrollment in the red schools. According to SGF per student, Northlea E and MS can spend an extra \$269 per student as opposed to Rose Avenue PS that can spend an extra \$2 per student.

When comparing the SGF per student, I found that the green schools can spend an extra \$374 per student on top of the allocated per pupil funding of \$96.50. In total, the green schools can spend \$470.50 per student. The red schools can spend an extra \$20 per student on top of the allocated per pupil funding of \$96.50. In total, the red schools can spend \$116.50 per student. Overall, the green schools can spend \$354 more than the red schools on their students.

Based on the green and red schools, what I have found is funding inequalities based on SGF. I looked at the green and red schools according to the highest funded school, the lowest funded school, the highest enrollment school and the total amount of funding for all schools. What has been observed is that the green schools rely more on SGF, which is why they raise so much more money than the red schools. The red schools however rely more on the PSB. This is evident because 70% of the total funding for the green schools was from SGF. For the red schools, 11% of the total funding was generated from SGF.

Figure 2.2.1.1

SGF Per Student



The information from this figure was based on the SGF Record, 2009, The Toronto Star Archives

Referring to Figure 2.2.1.1 you can see the gap between SGF per student from the green and the red schools. The gap between SGF per student is dramatic. Based on Figure 2.2.1.1 the minimum amount of funding raised for the green schools was \$203 while the maximum was \$1,026. The median amount of SGF per student for the green schools was \$403.50. For the red schools, the minimum amount of funding raised was \$2 while the maximum was \$39. The median amount of SGF per student for the red schools was \$21.50. Therefore, there is a \$382 difference in the median amount of funding raised from the green schools.

Again, on top of the PSB, the green schools are generating more extra funding, through SGF, than the red schools. This is significant to note because the PSB is based on enrollment and is equally distributed to all schools within the TDSB. SGF is not the same for all schools, nor is it based on enrollment. Therefore, if red schools were generating more SGF, there would be more opportunities for activities not funded by the PSB to be experienced. More field trips could be taken, more after school program could be introduced and more experiences could be partaken in, which are not mandated by the Ontario Curriculum. With these experiences being taken because there is more SGF for the red schools, students will gain more cultural capital, as they will be able to afford more experiences outside of the classroom.

The purpose of this section is not to show that SGF raised is more than the PSB. It is to show how important SGF is to schools. The twenty green schools have a SGF per student average of \$374 and a median of \$403.50. This is on top of the general per pupil funding of \$96.50 allocated by the PSB. The twenty red schools have a SGF per

student average of \$20 and a median of \$21.50. This is also on top of the general per pupil funding of \$96.50 allocated by the PSB. With this extra funding generated by SGF, there are so many experiences that can be funded with a bigger budget. Having such a gap in SGF results in fewer experiences outside of the structured classroom for schools that do not raise a significant amount of funding. Green schools having an extra 70% of a total budget from SGF makes the difference in what can be experienced and afforded as opposed to 11% for the red schools.

2.3 Third Data Set: The Learning Opportunity Index

The third data set analyzed was The Learning Opportunity Index. The Learning Opportunity Index (LOI) ranks the TDSB schools according to external challenges. External challenges are variables that are used to measure how factors affect student success. The challenges that were analyzed in the LOI are: “median income; percentage of families whose income is below the Low Income Measure (before tax); percentage of families receiving social assistance; adults with low education; adults with university degrees; and lone parent families” (LOI, 2010: 2). The LOI is a measure that is based on school and student achievement. LOI focuses on defining which schools have the most external challenges.

The LOI “depends on two factors: the accuracy of the information entered by schools into our student information system (SIS) and the data accuracy to which it is linked (i.e., tax data, and the Federal Census)” (LOI, 2010: 5). Schools with the highest rates of external challenges are ranked low on this index and schools with the lowest rates of external challenges are ranked high on this index. This index is out of 479 schools. For example, the Ontario schools in the TDSB with the highest external challenges are ranked number one, whereas the school with the lowest rate of external challenges are ranked 479.

Table 2.3.1 compares the green and red schools according to the 2009 LOI.

Table 2.3.1

LOI of the Green and Red Schools

Green Schools	2009 LOI	Red Schools	2009 LOI
Whitney Jr PS	475	Braeburn Jr PS	32
Lambton-Kingsway JMS	472	Galloway Road PS	21
John Ross Robertson Jr PS	473	Regent Park-Duke of York Jr PS	3
Owen PS	434	Nelson Mandela Park PS	2
Northlea E & MS	439	Chester Le Jr PS	113
Humber Valley Village JMS	460	Stanley PS	53
Deer Park Jr & Sr PS	436	Bruce Jr PS	99
Denlow PS	456	Highview PS	60
Forest Hill Jr & Sr PS	425	Ogden Jr PS	148
Bedford Park Jr PS	469	Cordella Jr PS	24
Lillian PS	345	Warren Park Jr PS	89
Swansea Jr & Sr PS	424	William G Davis Jr PS	429
Humbercrest PS	307	Tom Longboat Jr PS	188
Armour Heights PS	467	Cottingham PS	450
Brown Jr PS	452	Roywood PS	195
John Wanless Jr PS	470	O'Connor PS	73
Dublin Heights E & MS	347	McMurrich Jr PS	311
Summit Heights PS	447	Pauline Johnson Jr PS	178
Terry Fox PS	344	Bala Community School	18
McKee PS	370	Rose Avenue PS	102
Average	425.6	Average	129.4

This information was derived from the Learning Opportunity Index, 2009 and EQAO 2008-2009.

Table 2.3.1 shows the green and red schools ranking on the LOI. As we can expect, the green schools suffer less from external challenges. The red schools however, suffer more from external challenges. The average LOI rating for the green schools is 425.6 out of 479. There are fifteen schools that scored above 400 out of 475 and five schools that scored between 300 to 399.

These numbers show that the green schools are not as affected by external challenges that interfere with student success because the average rating on LOI was 425.6 out of 475. This means that there are fewer adults with lower levels of education in the community, families on social assistance, families categorized as low income and single family dwellings; these students are given more of an opportunity at a stable education because external factors are not hampering their chances of learning. Since there are less external challenges, these students can gain more cultural capital as more experiences can be taken; with less external challenges to be concerned about, it gives more time to focus on increasing the cultural capital of the students in the green schools. On top of that, the socio-economic status of the adults within these communities is higher than the red schools, which will be further explained in the section 2.5.

For the red schools the average LOI rating is 129.4 out of 479 schools. There were two schools that scored above 400, one school that scored between 300 to 399, no schools that scored between 200 to 299, six schools that scored between 100 to 199, and eleven schools that scored between 1 to 99. These numbers shows that the red schools suffer more than the green schools from external challenges that directly impact student

success. This means that there are more adults with lower levels of education in the community, families on social assistance, families categorized as low income and single family dwellings; these students are given less of an opportunity at a stable education because external factors are hampering their chances of successful learning.

Although external challenges are affecting the success of the red school students, the classroom should somehow compensate for the inequalities of opportunities. For example, if a student does not have a computer or access to the Internet at home, the school should have these technological advancements so that the student can still finish work that requires these tools. Advancements like computer labs can be funded through SGF. Since the red schools generate less SGF than the green schools, chances are there is more of a digital divide between the green and red schools.

According to Michael Geist from The Star, he states “the digital divide remains consistent across all demographics with wealthier households far likelier to use the Internet than poorer ones regardless of their age” (Geist, 2013: 1). Although “the 16 to 24 demographic are the heaviest users of wireless Internet services...the gap between the rich and poor remains: 88.3 per cent of the top quartile use wireless Internet services, but that declines to 26.4 per cent for the poorest quartile” (Geist, 2013: 1). Angela Chapin from the Huffington Post states, “the digital economy has created a new underclass made up of groups that already face many obstacles. Immigrants, the poor, the uneducated and the elderly are being left behind” (Chaplin, 2013: 1). Therefore, SGF and the digital divide are hampering red school students from simply even typing

an essay for a class assignment based on the lack of a computer and the Internet.

There is no dispute that there are income differences among all people. Some people are low income, middle income or high income, according to the Ontario income tax bracket. Within an education system however, these class statuses should not be visible. For example, computers should not be a luxury; they should be mandatory. Unmonitored SGF allows schools that need extra funding to not receive it. Using the example of attending one field trip to the ROM, with such low generated SGF for the red schools, some schools are forced to choose between allowing two classes to attend the ROM or buying two new computers.

Overall, when we compare the data on the extra funding generated by the SGF and the LOI, we can see clearly how SGF reinforces initial social inequalities among students.

2.4 Fourth Data Set: EQAO

Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO) is an annual test that provides a quantitative measure of educational performance. The “Ontario provincial testing program was created in 1996 in large part because parents and the public demanded more accountability and called for an independent gauge of children’s learning and achievement” (The Power of Ontario’s Provincial Testing Program, 2012: 2). As a result, EQAO administers province-wide tests to all students and measures their test scores in mathematics, reading and writing.

EQAO is affiliated with the provincial government of Canada and is an “arm's length agency of the provincial government” (Framework: Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics, Junior Division (Grades 4-6), 2007: 3). Each school and the students present within the school are required to take this annual test to see the average learning of all students in Ontario. “In order for students’ results on EQAO’s large-scale assessments to be comparable across the province, the assessments must be administered, scored and reported on in a consistent and standardized manner” (Framework: Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics, Junior Division. (Grades 4-6), 2007: 5).

EQAO is a vital part of the education system as it is a test of how well students are learning, what needs to be improved, how well teachers are following the curriculum, which schools have high levels of educational achievement and which schools have low levels of educational achievement. EQAO uses the Ontario

Achievement Chart's Level 4 to 1 model to categorize the level in which students are performing on standardized testing. Level four meaning exceptional understanding of learning material and level one meaning unsuccessful understanding of learning material.

All the test results from each year and each grade are submitted to the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education analyzes the records and uses the scores to “improve learning, teaching and student achievement” (Framework: Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics, Junior Division. (Grades 4-6), 2007: 3). There are four assessments that EQAO administers:

1. The Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics, Primary Division.
 2. The Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics, Junior Division.
 3. The Grade Nine Assessment of Mathematics.
 4. The Ontario Secondary School Literary Test.
- (Framework: Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics, Junior Division. (Grades 4-6), 2007: 5).

For this thesis, students in grade three, who completed the primary division's Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics were examined. This is because it is the first test administered to students from when they start school until grade three. EQAO tests students based on the Ontario Curriculum's guidelines. The Ontario Curriculum is an outline of the expectations each student in elementary school education is to be fulfilling.

2.4.1 The Ontario Curriculum

In terms of reading and the curriculum standards, students are required to fulfill four overall expectations:

1. Read and demonstrate an understanding of a variety of literary, graphic, and informational texts, using a range of strategies to construct meaning.
2. Recognize a variety of text forms, text features, and stylistic elements and demonstrate understanding of how they help communicate meaning.
3. Use knowledge of words and cueing systems to read fluently.
4. Reflect on and identify their strengths as readers, areas for improvement, and the strategies they found most helpful before, during, and after reading.

(The Ministry of Education, Language, 2006:11).

In terms of writing and the curriculum standards, students are required to fulfill four overall expectations:

1. Generate, gather, and organize ideas and information to write for an intended purpose and audience.
2. Draft and revise their writing, using a variety of informational, literary, and graphic forms and stylistic elements appropriate for the purpose and audience.
3. Use editing, proofreading, and publishing skills and strategies, and knowledge of language conventions, to correct errors, refine expression, and present their work effectively.
4. Reflect on and identify their strengths as writers, areas for improvement, and the strategies they found most helpful at different stages in the writing process.

(The Ministry of Education, Language 2006: 12).

The last component tested by EQAO is mathematics. The mathematics component of the Ontario Curriculum can be separated into five strands:

1. Number Sense and Numeration.
2. Measurement.
3. Geometry and Spatial Sense.
4. Patterning and Algebra.
5. Data Management and Probability.

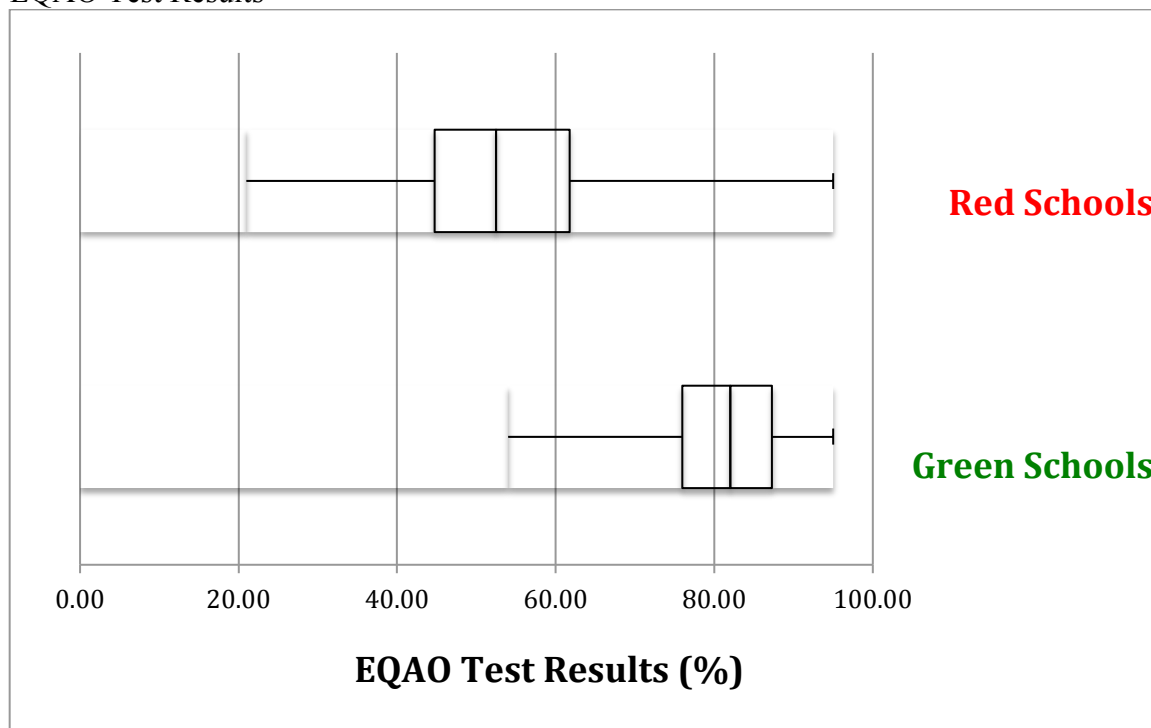
(The Ministry of Education, Mathematics: 2006: 8).

The Ontario Curriculum, which was once a little grey book, is now the guideline that each teacher is to follow in order for consistent learning to be achieved by students. The Ontario Curriculum is measured through EQAO as students are tested based on the knowledge that is to be gained from The Ontario Curriculum.

2.4.2 SGF VS EQAO

Figure 2.4.2.1

EQAO Test Results



The information from this figure was based on the EQAO test results, 2008-2009.

Table 2.4.2.1

Pearson Correlation Coefficient Results

Correlations		SGF	EQAO
SGF	Pearson Correlation	1	.599**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	40	40
EQAO	Pearson Correlation	.599**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	40	40

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The information from this table was based on the SGF Record, 2009, The Toronto Star Archives and the EQAO test results from 2008-2009

The fourth data set that was used was the EQAO test results from 2008-2009.

Figure 2.4.2.1 shows the EQAO test results of the green and red schools. For the green schools, the minimum mark was 54%, the maximum mark was 95% and the median was 82%. For the red schools, the minimum mark was 21%, the maximum mark was 95% and the median was 53%.

This is significant to note because the green schools scored higher on EQAO than the red schools and the green schools also raised more SGF than the red schools. To see how significant this correlation is, Table 2.4.2.1 uses the Pearson Correlation Coefficient table to help understand the positive relation of SGF raised to EQAO test results. Table 2.4.2.1 compares the green and red schools overall SGF per student to the overall EQAO test results. From the Pearson Correlation Coefficient, the significance is going to be a positive relation (+1), a negative relation (-1), or no relation (0). The closer a number is to the positive or negative, the more significant the relationship.

For Table 2.4.2.1, what can be seen is that there is a moderately strong positive correlation between SGF per student and EQAO test results based on the 0.599 result on the Pearson Correlation Coefficient. 0.599 signifies a positive correlation between SGF and EQAO test results and that positive correlation is closer to (+1) than it is to (0) or (-1). This correlation is also highly statistically significant at the .000 level. From analyzing SGF per student and EQAO alone, what the Pearson Correlation Coefficient shows is that the more SGF per student raised, the higher the EQAO mark.

Table 2.4.2.2

SGF VS EQAO

Green Schools	2008-2009 SGF Per Student	2008-2009 EQAO Average (%)		Red Schools	2008-2009 SGF Per Student	2008-2009 EQAO Average (%)
Whitney Jr PS	\$1026	83		Braeburn Jr PS	\$26	48
Lambton-Kingsway JMS	\$376	81		Galloway Road PS	\$33	38
John Ross Robertson Jr PS	\$452	92		Regent Park-Duke of York Jr PS	\$22	21
Owen PS	\$438	73		Nelson Mandela Park PS	\$17	34
Northlea E & MS	\$269	80		Chester Le Jr PS	\$37	45
Humber Valley Village JMS	\$554	90		Stanley PS	\$19	58
Deer Park Jr & Sr PS	\$443	88		Bruce Jr PS	\$35	56
Denlow PS	\$433	95		Highview PS	\$33	44
Forest Hill Jr & Sr PS	\$412	80		Ogden Jr PS	\$35	52
Bedford Park Jr PS	\$395	95		Cordella Jr PS	\$37	64
Lillian PS	\$638	54		Warren Park Jr PS	\$38	53
Swansea Jr & Sr PS	\$280	68		William G Davis Jr PS	\$20	77
Humbercrest PS	\$248	77		Tom Longboat Jr PS	\$13	51
Armour Heights PS	\$454	83		Cottingham PS	\$39	95
Brown Jr PS	\$288	80		Roywood PS	\$21	65
John Wanless Jr PS	\$203	87		O'Connor PS	\$19	48
Dublin Heights E & MS	\$275	59		McMurrich Jr PS	\$10	61
Summit Heights PS	\$501	84		Pauline Johnson Jr PS	\$15	65
Terry Fox PS	\$283	65		Bala Community School	\$6	37
McKee PS	\$213	84		Rose Avenue PS	\$2	60
Average	\$374	80%		Average	\$20	54%

This table is based on the SGF Record, 2008-2009, Toronto Star Archives and EQAO test results from 2008-2009

Table 2.4.2.2 shows all the EQAO test results from the green and red schools. When comparing the green schools, the highest EQAO mark was from Bedford Park Junior Public School and Denlow Public School at 95%. The lowest EQAO mark was from Lillian PS at 54%.

For the red schools, the highest EQAO test result was Cottingham Public School at 95%. Cottingham Public School is in a richer neighbourhood but I cannot explain why this school did not raise a high amount of SGF. As for the lowest EQAO test result, it was Regent Park/Duke of York at 21%.

Overall, the average EQAO test results for the green schools were 80%. The average EQAO test result for the red schools were 54%. The green schools outscored the red schools by 26%. This is important because it shows that the green schools that generate the most funding are also receiving better results on standardized testing for education; the opposite is true for the red schools. Therefore, the system, which is supposed to level the field for everyone to succeed, is actually doing the opposite. This is significant when understanding how a two-tier education system is being reinforced. The two-tier education system is based on the Ontario Provincial Standard. Once again, this type of comparison supports the thesis that SGF funding reinforces fundamental inequalities between the schools of the TDSB.

2.4.3 Ontario Provincial Standard

The two-tier education system can also be understood using the Ontario Provincial Standard. The Ontario Provincial Standard is based on student scores on EQAO. There are three subjects tested, as outlined by EQAO: reading, writing and mathematics. The Provincial Standard, in 2008-2009, for grade three students was as follows: reading is 61%, writing is 68% and mathematics is 70%. Therefore, the Ontario Provincial Standard for students in grade three is 66.3%. In saying this, The Ontario Provincial Standard will serve as a cut off for which tier students fall into. Students are classified as being in the top-tier education system if they perform above 66.3% on EQAO testing. Students are classified as being in the bottom-tier education system if they perform below 66.3% on EQAO testing.

Table 2.4.3.1 shows the green and red schools and the percentages above and below the Ontario Provincial Standard.

Table 2.4.3.1

The Ontario Provincial Standard

Schools	Provincial Standard Grade 3	EQAO %	% Above the provincial standard	% Below the provincial standard
Green Schools	66.3%	80%	17/20=85%	3/20=15%
Red Schools	66.3%	54%	2/20=10%	18/20=90%

This table was based on the Ontario Provincial Standard from EQAO, 2008-2009

What can be observed from Table 2.4.3.1 is that the green schools have 85% of their schools found within the top-tier education system and 15% found in the bottom-tier education system. The red schools have 10% of their schools found in the top-tier education system and 90% found in the bottom-tier education system.

Based on this information, what can be understood is that the green schools outperform the red schools on standardized testing. Schools that raised the most SGF are in the top-tier education system and schools that raised the least SGF are in the bottom-tier education system. Before EQAO was observed, it was not known that 85% of the green schools were found within the top-tier education system or that 90% of the red schools were found within the bottom-tier education system. All that was known was that there were twenty schools that raised the most SGF and twenty schools that raised the least SGF.

This is unlikely a coincidence that 85% of the top-funded green schools are found within the top-tier education system and 90% of the bottom-funded red schools are found within the bottom-tier education system. If the green and red schools performed fairly evenly on EQAO testing, one could argue that there would be no argument to say that SGF is reinforcing a two-tier education system. The problem however is that SGF seems to reinforce a two-tier education system because the schools that are raising the most SGF are found in the top-tier education system, leaving the least raised in the bottom-tier education system.

2.4.4 Ontario Achievement Chart

Within Ontario, there are four core grades that students can receive. Level 4 is A- to A+ or 80%-100%. Level 3 is B- to B+ or 70%-79%. Level 2 is C- to C+ or 60%-69%. Level 1 is D to D+ or 50% to 59% (Growing Success: Assessment, Evaluation and Reporting in Ontario Schools, 2010, 24). There is no level for what could be F, 0%-49%, although some students fall into this category. Therefore I decided to add this level.

Level 4 students demonstrate a high understanding of curriculum material whereas a Level 1 would signify a satisfactory understanding of curriculum material. A Level 0 would signify a lack of curriculum understanding, as a Level 0 is a fail resulting in a student having to redo a course or grade.

Table 2.4.4.1 shows the Ontario Achievement Chart results of the green and red schools.

Table 2.4.4.1

The Ontario Achievement Chart

	A- to A+ Level 4	B- to B+ Level 3	C- to C+ Level 2	D to D+ Level 1	F No level	Total
Green Schools	14 - 70%	2 – 10%	2 – 10%	2 – 10%	0 – 0%	20
Red Schools	1 – 5%	1 – 5%	5 – 25%	5 – 25%	8 – 40%	20

Growing Success: Assessment, Evaluation, and Reporting in Ontario Schools. 2010

From Table 2.4.4.1, what can be observed is that the green schools scored better on the Ontario Achievement Chart than the red schools. For example, the green schools have fourteen schools (70%) at Level 4, two schools (10%) at Level 3, Level 2 and Level 1 and zero schools (0%) at the No Level bracket. For the red schools, there is one school, (5%) at Level 4 and Level 3, five schools (25%) at Level 2 and Level 1, and eight schools (40%) at the no level bracket.

When examining the achievement chart in place within Ontario, we see that the green schools are found within a higher-grade bracket than the red schools. This further shows that SGF raised relates to educational achievement as the green schools have 70% of their schools in the Level 4 bracket. The red schools have 5% within the Level 4 bracket. There were 0% of green schools in the no level bracket, whereas there are 40% of the red schools in the no level bracket.

Therefore, SGF again may be related to this educational gap between schools. Instead of schools performing lower on the Ontario Achievement Chart because of the lack of understanding curriculum material, it seems that the red schools are performing lower on the Ontario Achievement Chart based on, for example, and among other things, a lack of educational tools that can be bought with SGF money. In one way or another, we could expect that red schools rarely get access to more supporting resources than the green schools in order to help their students to be more successful. Where SGF is to be helping schools receive supporting resources, it is doing just the opposite. Schools that raise less SGF are not receiving the supporting resources because they

cannot afford it; the green schools that do not need supporting resources are receiving it because they can afford it.

2.5 Fifth Data Set: The Class Inequalities between Green and Red Schools

At this point we want to underline the class inequalities between the parents and the schools. We assume that it is easier to collect money through the SGF for upper class parents and schools. In order to see that, we can classify the wards and districts in relation to the average income of parents, their level of education and their occupation. In this respect I identified nine green wards and thirteen red wards. By using the Toronto Wards Profile, which was derived from “the 2001 and 2006 Census Semi-Custom Profiles” (The Toronto Wards Profile), we will see that the green school wards are composed of parents with higher incomes and education, and more prestigious occupations, whereas the red school wards are composed of parents with lower incomes and education, and less prestigious occupations.

Sticking to the original twenty green and red schools, I first found out what wards these green and red schools were located in. Table 2.5.1 lists the green school wards for the twenty green schools and the red school wards for the twenty red schools.

Table 2.5.1

Green and Red Schools and their Wards

Green Schools	Green School Wards	Red Schools	Red School Wards
Whitney Jr PS	27	Braeburn Jr PS	2
Lambton-Kingsway JMS	5	Galloway Road PS	43
John Ross Robertson Jr PS	16	Regent Park-Duke of York Jr PS	28
Owen PS	25	Nelson Mandela Park PS	28
Northlea E & MS	26	Chester Le Jr PS	39
Humber Valley Village JMS	4	Stanley PS	7
Deer Park Jr & Sr PS	22	Bruce Jr PS	30
Denlow PS	25	Highview PS	9
Forest Hill Jr & Sr PS	21	Ogden Jr PS	20
Bedford Park Jr PS	25	Cordella Jr PS	11
Lillian PS	24	Warren Park Jr PS	13
Swansea Jr & Sr PS	13	William G Davis Jr PS	44
Humbercrest PS	13	Tom Longboat Jr PS	42
Armour Heights PS	16	Cottingham PS	22
Brown Jr PS	22	Roywood PS	34
John Wanless Jr PS	16	O'Connor PS	31
Dublin Heights E & MS	10	McMurrich Jr PS	21
Summit Heights PS	23	Pauline Johnson Jr PS	40
Terry Fox PS	39	Bala Community School	11
McKee PS	23	Rose Avenue PS	28

This table was devised using a map of Toronto, the SGF Record of 2008-2009 and the Toronto Wards Profile.

According to Table 2.5.1 most wards are composed by green or red schools only; but we can also see that some wards have green and red schools. These wards are: 13, 21, 22 and 39. In ward 13, there are two green schools, Swansea Jr and Sr PS and Humbercrest PS and one red school, Warren Park Jr PS. In Ward 21, there is one green school, Forest Hill Jr and Sr PS and one red school, McMurrich Jr PS. In ward 22 there are two green schools: Deer Park Jr and Sr PS and Brown Jr PS and one red school, Cottingham PS. Lastly, in ward 39 there is one green school, Terry Fox PS, and one red school, Chester Le PS. These four wards will not be analyzed. This leaves us with nine green school wards and thirteen red school wards. The green school wards analyzed were: 4, 5, 10, 16, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27. The red school wards analyzed were: 2, 7, 9, 11, 20, 28, 30, 31, 34, 40, 42, 43 and 44.

Since I had the nine green school wards and the thirteen red schools wards, I was able to figure out the socio-economic status of the parents in these wards. Table 2.5.2 shows the total number of schools in these green and red school wards, the SGF per student, and the average yearly household income. By looking at all the schools found in the green and red school wards, I was able to determine if the parents of the wards were of a higher or lower income bracket.

Table 2.5.2

Green School Wards VS Red School Wards

Green Wards	Total # of schools within the ward	Average SGF per student	Average yearly income of the ward		Red School Wards	Total # of schools within the ward	Average SGF per student	Average yearly income of the ward
4	7	\$184	\$115,920		2	8	\$68	\$69,690
5	7	\$226	\$102,114		7	6	\$47	\$58,218
10	5	\$213	\$74,807		9	8	\$52	\$57,079
16	6	\$269	\$177,570		11	11	\$63	\$52,859
23	11	\$192	\$74,455		20	11	\$110	\$81,301
24	9	\$294	\$85,621		28	9	\$55	\$65,940
25	11	\$346	\$210,153		30	10	\$92	\$70,965
26	7	\$142	\$81,545		31	10	\$79	\$59,992
27	4	\$352	\$111,992		34	11	\$118	\$66,858
					40	11	\$100	\$59,054
					42	14	\$73	\$68,682
					43	13	\$75	\$61,795
					44	14	\$111	\$90,806
Total	63	\$246	\$115,020		Total	122	\$80	\$66,388

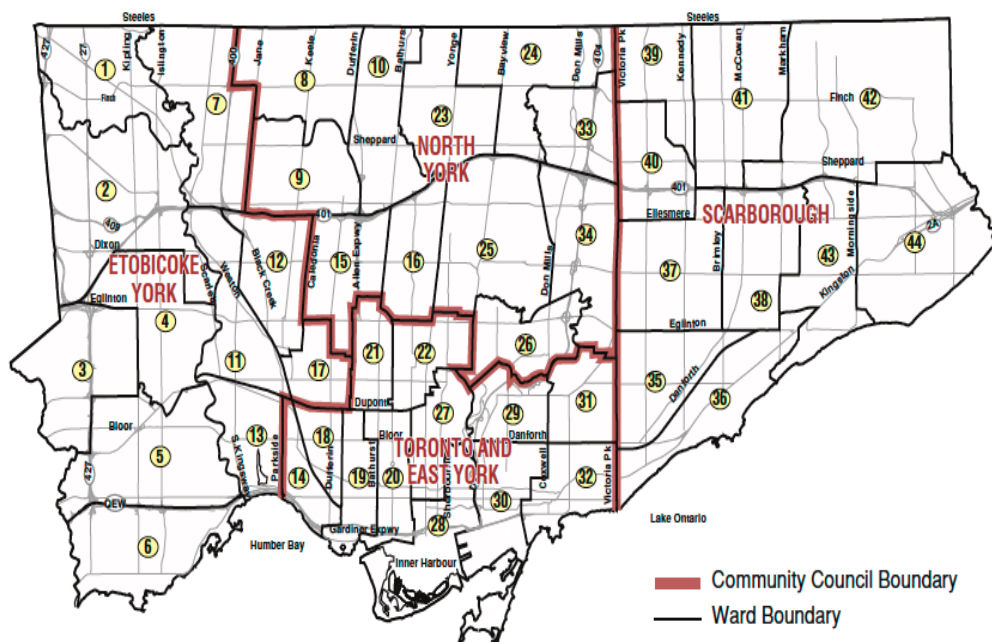
This chart was devised using a map of Toronto, the SGF Record of 2008-2009 and the Toronto Wards Profile.

According to Table 2.5.2, the green school wards generate more SGF per student (\$246) compared to the red school wards (\$80). On top of the base student allocation of \$96.50 per student from the provincial government, the schools located in the green school wards generate an extra \$166 of per student funding than the red school wards. Once again, this is not surprising considering the income inequalities between the wards: the average yearly household income (\$115,020) of the green school wards is much higher in comparison to the red school wards (\$66,388). Average yearly household income is important to note because it shows that the green school wards consisted of wealthier parents and the red school wards consisted of parents with lower average incomes.

2.5.1 The Districts

Figure 2.5.1.1

The Toronto Districts



This map was taken from www.ureachtoronto.com

Table 2.5.1.1

Green School District and Wards VS Red School Districts and Wards

Green Schools Districts	# of times wards found in district	Percent	Red School Districts	# of times wards found in district	Percent
North York	6	67%	North York	2	15%
Etobicoke	2	22%	Etobicoke	3	23%
Toronto/East York	1	11%	Toronto/East York	4	31%
Scarborough	0	0%	Scarborough	4	31%

This information was derived from www.toronto.ca and The Toronto Wards Profile, <http://app.toronto.ca/wards/jsp/wards.jsp>

While researching about the wards, I wanted to look at the districts within Toronto to see where the green and red schools were located. This exercise allows us to map the class inequalities between the families and their schools. Within Toronto, there are four districts: Toronto and East York, Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough. Figure 2.5.1.1 is a map that outlines the four districts and the forty-four wards within Toronto.

According to the Figure 2.5.1.1, north is the district North York, east is the district Scarborough, south is the district Toronto and East York and west is the district Etobicoke. Starting with the district that has the most land area, Scarborough “occupies 188 sq. km...and its population reached 602,575 in 2006” (www.toronto.ca). The Scarborough wards are 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 and 44. Etobicoke “occupies 187 sq. km and its population reached 595,320” (www.toronto.ca). The Etobicoke wards are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13 and 17. North York “occupies 163 sq. km...and its population reached 635,220 in 2006” (www.toronto.ca). The North York wards are 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 26, 33 and 34. Toronto and East York “occupies “ 102 sq. km...and its population reached 642,895 in 2006” (www.toronto.ca). The Toronto and East York wards are 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32.

Table 2.5.1.1 shows the four districts and the numbers and percentages of green and red school wards in each of the four districts. In relation to the green school wards, the North York district has six out of nine green school wards found within it. This means that 67% of the green schools are located in North York, and it is the main

district of the upper class families. The percentages of green school wards in the other districts are 22% in Etobicoke, 11% in Toronto and East York and 0% in Scarborough.

The main districts of the red school wards are Scarborough and Toronto and East York. These are the districts of the lower class families where it is more difficult to collect SGF. There is eight out of thirteen red school wards found within Toronto and East York and Scarborough evenly, resulting in 62%. This means that there is 31% in Toronto and East York, 31% in Scarborough, 23% in Etobicoke and 15% in North York.

Thus, the district North York is the upper class one. However, in terms of class inequalities, these districts are not necessarily uniform or homogenized. For instance, North York is the third largest district in Toronto. On the western side, within the district of North York, there are “high-rise apartments with higher levels of low-income, immigrant and visible minority groups; all groups living in the Jane and Finch area” (www.toronto.ca). This area is classified as a “priority area” (www.toronto.ca). In the central part of North York, it is more uptown and wealthy. “About a quarter of the households had an income of over \$100,000....Large areas of high income [are] in the central and eastern parts of North York” (www.toronto.ca). From the green schools analyzed in this thesis, it is evident that most of the green schools are found in the central/eastern area.

For the red school wards, the lower class districts are Scarborough and Toronto and East York. Within Scarborough and Toronto and East York, there are several

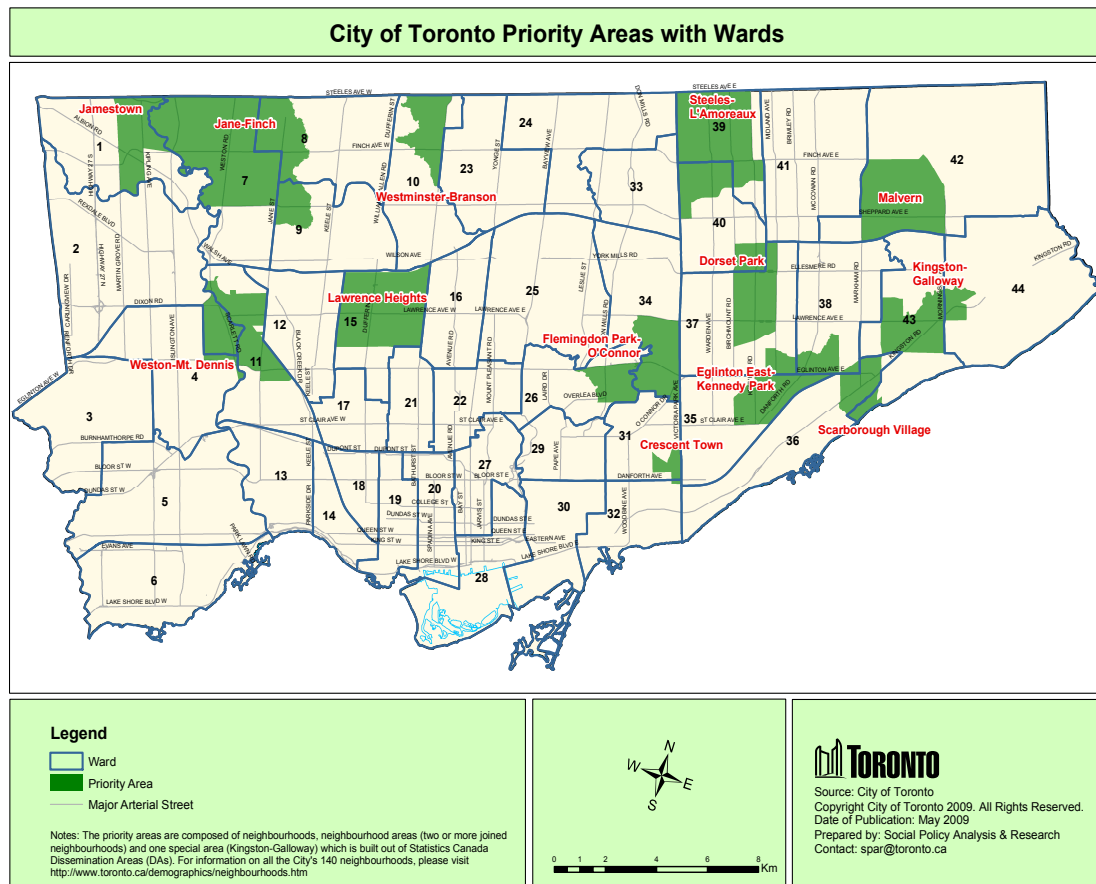
priority areas that are filled with violence, crime, visible minorities and poverty. Some of these priority areas are found within “Northern Scarborough,...either side of Dundas St, as well as a few other neighbourhoods such as Parkdale, St Jamestown and Crescent Town” (www.toronto.ca).

What is important to note is that the green schools are found within a more wealthy and safe neighbourhood in North York as opposed to the red schools that are found in what has been labeled ‘priority areas’. According to the Neighbourhood Action Plan Committee and the Toronto City Planning Division, priority areas are “at risk populations” (www.toronto.ca) that have high levels of: visible minorities and recent immigrants, lone parent households, unemployment, and low levels of education and income. Priority areas are located in certain areas within certain wards.

Figure 2.5.1.2 shows a map of all the priority areas in Toronto.

Figure 2.5.1.2

City of Toronto Priority Areas with Wards



This map was taken from <http://www.toronto.ca/demographics/priorityareas.htm>

On Figure 2.5.1.2, there are the forty-four wards, the priority areas within Toronto and the names of the priority areas. In Toronto, there are thirteen priority areas although some priority areas overlap into multiple wards. Those priority areas are: Jamestown, Jane-Finch, Malvern, Kingston-Galloway, Lawrence Heights, Steeles-L'Amoreaux, Eglinton East-Kennedy Park, Crescent Town, Weston-Mt. Dennis, Dorset Park, Scarborough Village, Flemingdon Park and Westminster-Branson. The priority areas are located in wards: 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 26, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, and 44. Some of these priority areas overlap into multiple wards.

There are nine green school wards that I have analyzed. Those wards are: 4, 5, 10, 16, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27. Out of those nine wards, there are 22%, two priority areas located in the nine green school wards; those priority areas are found within wards 10, Westminster-Branson and 26 Flemingdon Park and O'Connor. What this means is that there are less at risk areas in the green school wards.

Thirteen red school wards were analyzed. Those wards are: 2, 7, 9, 11, 20, 28, 30, 31, 34, 40, 42, 43 and 44. Out of those thirteen red school wards, there is 77%, ten priority areas located within the thirteen red school wards. Those wards and priority areas are: 2 and 11, Weston-Mt. Dennis; 7 and 9, Jane-Finch; 31, Crescent Town; 34, Flemingdon Park-O'Connor; 40, Steeles-L'Amoreaux; 42, Malvern; and 43 and 44, Kingston-Galloway. This means that there are more at risk areas that are prone to violence, low-income households and low employment rates in the red school wards.

From the priority wards, what can be observed is that the green school wards have fewer wards that are priority areas, 22%, as opposed to the red school wards at 77%.

Overall, the district a person lives in can determine how much SGF is generated within the school found in that ward. District should not matter when it comes to a publicly funded institute. A person can live in the poorest area but their school should be up to the standard of a regular school within the TDSB. All the opportunities and advancements found in schools located in richer districts should be found in schools that are located in poorer districts. That would allow all students the same opportunities for learning beyond external challenges of everyday life. Living in a priority area should not mean that those students are placed in a bottom-tier education system. The student, because of their learning capacity, should be able to either succeed or fail, and it should not be based on the class background of their district.

The purpose of the district section is to show that district only matters when schools are being forced to fundraise. With unmonitored SGF, schools that are located in richer districts are being able to take their classes on more field trips, purchase the latest electronics, and enhance the school experience for those who are fortunate enough to attend. The schools within the poorer districts, with SGF of \$1,406, can barely afford one class trip and one computer. Although the relationship to income, district and educational achievement is not unilateral but rather complex, SGF is contributing to less life experiences for students from the red schools. This is not to say that all rich green school students are smart; there could be some not so smart students too and vice versa.

The point is that there is a very strong correlation between rich families, the neighbourhoods they live in and their ability to generate SGF, which is further used to cultivate cultural capital. The red schools struggle with generating SGF, resulting in less cultural capital gained. This lack of cultural capital being gained can be contributing to the reproduction of social class as the green schools are being socialized through their experiences to fit into a higher social class than the red schools.

2.5.2 Income Findings

Table 2.5.2.1

Income of the Green and Red School Wards

Green Wards	Income Under \$10,000 (%)	Income \$100,00 and over (%)	Average Household Income (\$)		Red Wards	Income Under \$10,000 (%)	Income \$100,00 and over (%)	Average Household Income (\$)
4	3.3	29.2	115,920.0		2	4.4	18.5	69,690.0
5	4.6	30.8	102,114.0		7	5.4	14.5	58,218.0
10	7.2	18.5	74,807.0		9	5.5	14.5	57,079.0
16	4.3	44.3	177,570.0		11	7.8	12.1	52,859.0
23	9.0	23.3	75,455.0		20	10.0	21.3	81,301.0
24	7.4	28.2	85,621.0		28	12.9	15.4	65,744.0
25	4.0	44.2	210,153.0		30	7.2	23.5	70,965.0
26	5.9	20.4	81,545.0		31	6.2	15.3	59,992.0
27	12.0	23.2	111,992.0		34	5.0	18.1	66,858.0
					40	5.7	15.1	59,054.0
Average	6	29	115,020		42	3.5	19.9	68,682.0
					43	7.0	17.8	61,795.0
					44	3.0	34.3	90,806.0
					Average	6	19	66,388

This information was devised using the Toronto Wards Profile, <http://app.toronto.ca/wards/jsp/wards.jsp>

The first socio-economic status factor analyzed was income. There were three data's that were examined: percent under \$10,000, percent over \$100,000 and average yearly household income. This section looked at income generated that would be classified as low income and high income.

According to Table 2.5.2.1 the green and red school wards both had 6% of households with an income of under \$10,000. For the green school wards, 29% of households had an income of \$100,000 and over. 19% of the red school wards had incomes of \$100,000 or over. The average yearly household income in the green school wards was \$115,020. The average yearly household income in the red school wards was \$66,388. The lowest average household income in the green school wards was \$74,807 while the highest average household income was \$210,153. The lowest average household income in the red school wards was \$52,859 while the highest average household income that was \$90,806.

What can be seen from the green and red school wards' income is that with income \$100,000 and over, the green school wards have more persons than the red school wards with this income by 10%. This is important because it shows that the green school wards have more persons with a high income than the red school wards. When it comes to average household yearly income, the green school wards generated \$48,632 more than the red school wards. When a family has a high income especially an average yearly income of \$115,020, it is easier to donate money to SGF because that family generates enough to spare.

Table 2.5.2.2

Monthly Rent Payments of the Green and Red School Wards

Green Schools Wards	Monthly Rent Payment		Red School Wards	Monthly Rent Payment
4	\$1,071		2	\$882
5	\$963		7	\$861
10	\$975		9	\$849
16	\$1,049		11	\$783
23	\$1,176		20	\$1,071
24	\$1,125		28	\$794
25	\$1,064		30	\$788
26	\$999		31	\$832
27	\$1,066		34	\$985
			40	\$863
			42	\$938
			43	\$749
			44	\$850
Average	\$1,054			\$865

This information was devised using the Toronto Wards Profile, <http://app.toronto.ca/wards/jsp/wards.jsp>

It is important to note that although these income numbers are relatively high for both the red and green school wards, the standard of living within Toronto is also high. Making an income of under \$10,000 would not be enough to pay rent in some Toronto areas. Table 2.5.2.2 shows the monthly rent payments for the green and red school wards.

According to Table 2.5.2.2, the average monthly rent for the green school wards is \$1054. The average monthly rent for the red school wards is \$865. Making an annual income of under \$10,000 would not be enough for one-year rent in the green or red school wards. Therefore, the average yearly income is high because it costs more to live in Toronto, especially if a family does not want to live in priority areas.

2.5.4 Education Findings

The second socio-economic status factor analyzed was the level of education. The total population above fifteen years old, according to The Toronto Wards Profile, had to record their highest education. The categories were based on highest educational achievement starting with: earned doctorate, master's degree, university degree, college diploma, apprenticeship, high school diploma and no certificate.

Table 2.5.4.1 outlines all of the green and red school wards educational backgrounds based on the percentages of various diplomas, degrees and certificates.

Table 2.5.4.1

Educational backgrounds of the Green and Red School Wards

	Doctorate	Masters	University	College	High School Certificate	Apprentice-ship	No certificate
Green School wards	1.5%	9.6%	36.5%	13.2%	21.7%	4.5%	13%
Red School Wards	0.8%	4.8%	23.3%	14.9%	25.8%	6.8%	23.6%

This information was devised using the Toronto Wards Profile, <http://app.toronto.ca/wards/jsp/wards.jsp>

As we can see from Table 2.5.4.1, generally speaking, the level of education in the green school wards is higher than the red school wards. The average earned doctorate percentage in the green school wards was 1.5%. In the red school wards, the earned doctorate average was 0.8%. The green school wards had more persons with an earned doctorate than the red school wards by 0.7%. The average master's degree percentage for the green school wards was 9.6%. In the red school wards, the master's degree average was 4.8%. The green school wards had more persons with a master's degree than the red school wards by 4.8%. The average university degree percentage for the green school wards was 36.5%. In the red school wards, the university degree average was 23.3%. The green school wards had more persons with a university degree than the red school wards by 13.2%.

The average college certificates percentage for the green school wards was 13.2%. In the red school wards, the college certificate average was 14.9%. The red school wards had more persons with college certificates than the green school wards by 1.7%. The average high school diploma percentage for the green school wards was 21.7%. In the red school wards, the high school diploma average was 25.8%. The red school wards had more persons with a high school diploma than the green school wards by 4.4%. The average apprenticeship percentage for the green school wards was 4.5%. In the red school wards, the apprenticeship average was 6.8%. The red school wards had more persons with an apprenticeship than the green school wards by 2.3%. The average person with no certificate, diploma or degree for the green school wards was 13%. In the red school wards, persons with no certificate, diploma or degree average was 23.6%.

The red school wards had more persons with no certificate, diploma, or degree than the green school wards by 10.6%.

To put it differently, the green school wards have 47.6% of persons with an earned doctorate, masters or university degree while the red school wards have 71.1% of persons with a college degree, apprenticeship, high school diploma or no certificate. What this shows is that the green school wards are ready to invest more money into education financially and timely. These people within the green school wards are climbing the educational ladder in the hopes of securing a higher, more challenging occupation. The highest percentages found within the green school wards are from university degrees at 36.5%. University degrees require financial money to fund tuition fees, books and travel costs. None of these educational achievements that are found within the green school wards are free. It is just the opposite in the red school wards where more persons have no certificate, diploma or degree, high school certificate, apprenticeship or college certificates.

A person within the green school wards with a higher education understands the value of obtaining an education. This is because they have gone through the process themselves if the highest education received by 36.5% of the green school wards is a university degree. To obtain a university degree, a person has to successfully complete three years or more of extra postsecondary schooling with a specific average. Undergoing an extra three years of schooling at a minimum means that most of the people completing these degrees understand the value of additional post secondary

education; otherwise those people would have just stopped their education at a high school diploma.

In other words, even if we forget about the economic capacity to invest in schools and education, SGF might be higher in the green school wards because the green school wards understand how important a quality education is. For more people living in the red school wards, whose education is mostly high school diplomas and no certificates, they do not believe in education as much as someone who furthered their education. This is because they did not further their own. Some people are not interested in furthering their education and choose to become part of the skilled trades occupation, which is practical, ongoing learning. Others claim that they cannot afford a higher education but in Ontario, there are options like Student Lines of Credit and the Ontario Student Assistance Program (OSAP), which would be happy to assist individuals in financing their education for as long as they need.

I am not saying that the red school wards do not believe in the education system. It is just evident that the green school wards believe in the education system more because they decided to continue their studies beyond the free education available in Ontario. Additionally, they are reinvesting in the education of the youth by generating more SGF than the red school wards.

In addition and more importantly as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) showed,

these parents and children of the green schools have a habitus, which favours their success in the school system. Their cultural capital is higher and can be used as a favourable asset in the school system. They know better the importance of educational investment in terms of class mobility and reproduction. Therefore, it is not only that they have economic capital, it is that they are more willing to invest into the education of their children for the sake of obtaining more cultural capital.

On top of that, there is a lot of cultural capital that is experienced in schools. If parents cannot afford to bring their child to museums, art galleries, vacations or any other place of interest, the experiences might still have a chance to be fulfilled through school field trips. Students from richer backgrounds might get to experience these forms of cultural capital on a daily basis with their parents but for a poor student, these trips might only be experienced at school. Therefore, school outings allow for students to engage in cultural capital beyond their own family social class. SGF being unequal allows for the rich students, who get to experience these forms of cultural capital with their parents, to experience it again with their schools; the poor students are left with no experiences of cultural capital because of the lack of SGF funding and social class. SGF funding allows for more forms of cultural capital to be obtained.

2.5.5 Occupation Findings

The third socio-economic status factor that was analyzed was occupation. I analyzed income, which showed that the green school wards earned a higher income than the red school wards. I also analyzed education and found that the green school wards had higher educational achievement than the red school wards. Now I had to figure out where that income was earned.

Table 2.5.5.1 shows the most frequented occupations in the green and red school wards.

Table 2.5.5.1

Occupations in the Green and Red School Wards

Occupation	Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	Health Care and Health Services	Manufacturing	Retail Trade
Green School Wards	15%	10%	8%	9%
Red School Wards	8%	9%	14%	11%

This information was devised using the Toronto Wards Profile, <http://app.toronto.ca/wards/jsp/wards.jsp>

According to Table 2.5.5.1, in the green school wards, the two most frequented jobs were Professional, Scientific and Technical Services and Health Care and Social Assistance at 15% and 10%. Compare to the red school wards in these occupations, the green school wards frequented the professional, scientific and technical services and the health care and social assistance occupation more by 7% and 1%.

For the red school wards, the two most frequent jobs were Manufacturing occupations at 14% and Retail Trade at 11%. Compared to the green school wards in these occupations, the red school wards frequented the manufacturing and retail trade occupation more by 6% and 2%.

Occupation is important because it also shows, according to Bourdieu (1990), the class habitus of the individuals. In terms of cultural and economic capital, having a stable, well paying occupation can be a factor in generating SGF. The green school wards have higher incomes because of their occupation. Once again, culturally and economically speaking, this leads to the green school wards being able to generate more SGF because they have more disposable income. With the green school wards frequenting professional and health care occupations, it shows that a higher education is needed in order to be qualified for these kinds of jobs. Having a higher education means that a person would have to be more educated.

The red school wards most frequented retail trade and manufacturing occupations. The educational requirements of these jobs are not as extensive as others. This is not to say that the red school wards do not invest in education. They do not

invest as much, which is evident in the occupations that they possess because some cannot afford to. Others do not believe it matters so much for their children. Although education is not as important for these occupations as hands on experience is, this mentality of education not being as important can be reflected onto SGF in terms of a lack of funding within the red schools wards.

Chapter Three: Conclusion

For this thesis, my main purpose was to analyze SGF in the TDSB to see if it was reinforcing a two-tier education system. The TDSB states “[it] enables all students to reach high levels of achievement and to acquire the knowledge, skills and values they need to become responsible members of a democratic society.” (TDSB, 2011: 1) However, this sense of all students being enabled is not practiced in actuality. This is because it is mostly the top-funded green schools that are being taught the knowledge, skills and values needed to function in this society. The bottom-funded red schools are not. The problem with this laissez faire attitude to SGF is that the poor students, whose parents cannot afford to fundraise, are at a disadvantage. Not only are these students at a disadvantage based on class, they are also affected from the disadvantages that comes with SGF.

As a publicly funded institute, the TDSB is to provide a fair education for all students. This is difficult to obtain with SGF. How is it that public education is supposed to be fair and just but the poorer schools in Toronto cannot even afford the basics like textbooks, which are supposed to be covered by the provincial government? The pattern in the TDSB is that all schools do not start on an equal playing field; the rich schools are found on a higher playing field with a head start while the poor schools are slowly trying to catch up.

From this thesis, what can be seen is that because of SGF, this equal school system is reinforcing a two-tier education system that is unequal. The school system is

not based on inequality; but the social set-up makes the school system unequal as social class is manipulating the school system by allowing SGF to reinforce an unequal social set up. When looking at the SGF record for both the green and red schools, what can be observed is that the green schools generated more SGF than the red schools. The green schools raised a total of \$4,043,837 while the red schools raised \$109,885. The SGF per student for the green schools was \$374 while the SGF per student for the red schools was \$20. The green schools can spend \$354 per student more than the red schools, on top of the general per pupil allocation of \$96.50.

Although SGF is money raised by individual schools, the gap that this money creates is something that cannot go unseen; this money is reinforcing inequality as some schools can afford enhanced opportunities for educational learning, mainly cultural capital while others cannot. It is because of this SGF inequality that more equitable measures like the PSB for each individual school becomes affected. The PSB is based on enrollment and allocates an equal amount of funding to each school. But where a problem exists is when SGF is added to the PSB of the green and red schools.

In total, the green schools analyzed were allocated \$1,735,249 from the PSB. The green schools, on top of this figure, raised \$4,043,837 in SGF. This means that the total budget for these twenty green schools is \$5,779,086. If you look at the percent of funding received from SGF and the PSB for the green schools, 70% was from SGF and 30% was from the PSB.

For the red schools, these figures are quite different. None of the red schools raised more SGF than PSB. In total, the red schools received \$917,932 from the PSB and \$109,885 from SGF. Altogether, the red schools have a budget of \$1,027,817 compared to the 5,779,086 for the green schools. If you look at the percent of funding received from SGF and the PSB for the red schools, 11% was from SGF and 89% was from the PSB.

After following the money and seeing the inequality it is reinforcing among other factors, I wanted to see if the money could be related to educational achievement. The LOI was compared against the green and red schools. What was observed was that the green schools suffered less from external challenges than the red schools.

To further understand if the money was affecting educational achievement, I analyzed the EQAO test results of the green and red schools. The average EQAO percentage for the green schools was 80%. The average EQAO percentage for the red schools was 54%. The green and red schools have their highest EQAO mark at 95%. However, for the lowest green schools EQAO test score, it was 54%. For the red schools, it was 21%.

According to the Pearson Correlation Coefficient, there was a moderately strong positive correlation between EQAO test results and SGF per student as the more SGF per student that was raised, the higher the EQAO test score. Although it can be seen that there was some kind of coincidence between SGF and educational achievement, I

wanted to demonstrate how these figures related to a two-tier education system. This is when the Ontario Provincial Standard for grade three was used.

The Ontario Provincial Standard for grade three is 66.3%. Those above this 66.3% were considered as part of the top-tier education system and those below were part of the bottom-tier education system. From analyzing the green and red schools, I was able to categorize schools as being in the top or bottom tier education system based on EQAO test results and the provincial standard. What I found, for the green schools, was that 85% of the green schools were found above the provincial standard within the top-tier education system. 10% of the red schools were found above the provincial standard within the top-tier education system. The majority of the red schools, 90%, were found within the bottom-tier education system.

I not only used the Ontario Provincial Standard to see how well the schools performed; I used the Ontario Achievement Chart. The Ontario Achievement Chart is the grades each student receives a year, ranging from Level 4 (A- to A+) to Level 1 (D to D+). I, however added Level 0 (F, no mark) as some of the schools had a failing mark. Using the Ontario Achievement Chart, 70% of the green schools are found within Level 4 (A- to A+), and 10% are found within Level 3 (B- to B+), Level 2 (C- to C+) and Level 1 (D to D+). For the red schools, 5% are found within both Level 4 and Level 3 (A- to A+/B- to B+), 25% are found within both Level 2 and Level 1 (C- to C+/D to D+) and 40% are within the no level (F bracket).

Based on these comparisons, what I have observed is that SGF is reinforcing inequalities among students within a public school system. According to the Policy and Program Requirements of Ontario Schools, “the purpose of school councils (SGF) is, through the active participation of parents, to improve student achievement and enhance the accountability of the education system to parents” (Ontario School, Kindergarten to Grade 12, 2011: 18). But from this thesis, what is being demonstrated is that the level of student achievement is being reinforced by the amount of funding raised. SGF generated becomes important because it allows for students to gain cultural capital through school outings. It is with cultural capital that comes the valorisation of education as a mean to get to the world that is worth living; but for some students, this cultural world is passing them by.

To further this thesis, I wanted to see what kinds of families and communities lived in both the green and red schools areas so I used the Toronto Wards Profile. Using the Toronto Wards Profile, I was able to find out which wards my green and red schools were located in. This left me with nine green school wards and thirteen red school wards to analyze. From the nine green school wards and the thirteen red school wards I was able to examine the district of the green and red school wards.

According to district, what I found was that the green school wards were mostly located in North York (67%), an area that is filled with high incomes of over \$100,000. The red school wards were located in Scarborough (31%) and Toronto and East York (31%). Scarborough and Toronto and East York have several priority areas found within them. For the priority areas, there was 22% found within the green school wards and

77% found within the red school wards. What this shows is that the green school wards are in safer neighbourhoods than the red school wards. 77% of the red school wards are labeled by the City of Toronto as being priority areas in need of urban revitalization.

To further understand the differences in the green and red school wards I analyzed three socio-economic status factors. Those socio-economic status factors were: income, education and occupation.

The first socio-economic status factor was income. Two categories were analyzed: income under \$10,000 and income over \$100,000. I also compared the average yearly household income. For income under \$10,000, the green and red school wards had 6% of persons living with this income. As for the incomes over \$100,000, the green school wards had 29% making over \$100,000 as opposed to the red school wards who had 19%. The average yearly household income in the green school wards was \$115,020; the red school wards had an average yearly household income of \$66,388.

The second socio-economic status factor was education. The categories for highest level of education completed was: earned doctorate, master's degree, university degree, college diploma, apprenticeship, high school diploma and no certificate. The highest education completed by the green school wards, compared to the red school wards was an earned doctorate, master's degree and university degree. The highest education completed in the red school wards was a college diploma, apprenticeship, high school diploma and no certificate.

What this figure then shows is that on average, the green school wards are more educated than the red school wards. The green school wards are more focused on receiving an education to gain a professional, scientific or technological career. The red school wards are more focused on the skilled trades.

The third socio-economic status factor was occupation. The most frequented occupation in the green school wards was Professional, Scientific and Technical Services at 15% and Health Care and Social Assistance at 10%. The most frequented occupation in the red school wards was Manufacturing at 14% and Retail Trade at 11%.

Overall, it should not matter what the socio-economic status of a parent is when it comes to a publicly funded education system. Children are born equal. They all have the right to the same equality of education. When entering a classroom, the expectations should be to learn and the ways to learn should be equal for all students. Allowing SGF to be unmonitored reinforces pre-existing social inequalities in the classroom. It allows class status to determine educational success through SGF. SGF reinforces the other social mechanisms at work behind the regulation of the class structure of the society.

The media was right to say that SGF is creating divides between schools but the extent of the divide is more dramatic than depicted. It is not just that students going to bottom-funded schools are hungry or that they do not have textbooks. These students have lower educational test scores, higher external challenges and less cultural capital. The red school students are falling through the educational cracks and no one seems to

see them fall. There needs to be a change to the SGF policies currently in place. I have two recommendations.

My first recommendation is that a policy be incorporated within the TDSB to cap SGF at a maximum amount of funding that can be used within each school. My second recommendation is that once that capped maximum amount of funding has been reached, extra funding will be given to the TDSB into a funding account so that it can be dispersed to schools that need it.

What this means is that schools are still allowed to fundraise as much or as little funding as they can. However, once schools reach their maximum amount of capped funding, the remainder of the raised money will go into an account within the TDSB for extra funding. For example, if the funding maximum for schools was \$100,000, a school like Whitney PS would have to donate to the TDSB funding account \$249,915.

Although these recommendations mostly target the green schools who generate a significant amount of funding, these recommendations will give the TDSB more control over funding as schools who hit their capped amount will have to report all extra funding to the TDSB. Instead of the TDSB trying to monitor all these schools, it will be the schools job to report to the TDSB any extra funding received.

If the amount of funding raised decreases there are two options that can be taken. Either the provincial government, through grants, help equalize SGF or the maximum amount allowed to be raised be decreased. By implementing these

recommendations, the TDSB and all the schools found within the board will be forced to submit yearly reports on SGF. Instead of getting rid of SGF, it just needs to be modified. SGF works as it allows school communities to be involved in the education system but it needs to be changed. By implementing these recommendations, fundraising can go back to being a local activity that reflects “the creative and collaborative efforts of parents, students, teachers and the school community.” (Fundraising Resource Guide, 2012: 1) No longer will parents feel forced to fundraise so that their child is given an equal chance at an enriched education.

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